

THE ANCESTRY
OF
CHAUCER

BY

ALFRED ALLAN KERN

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH, MILLSAPS COLLEGE, MISSISSIPPI

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Board of University Studies of the
Johns Hopkins University in conformity with
the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

1906

The Lord Baltimore Press

BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

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TO
J. A. K.

PREFACE

The present study was suggested by the appearance of the fourth volume of the *Life Records of Chaucer* (Chaucer Soc.) upon which it is to a large extent based, and to which, in turn, it is hoped that it may serve as a slight supplement. The work was not undertaken with the expectation of discovering something startlingly new, but with the object of clearing up many small inaccuracies in the sketches of the poet's life that are still used as sources, of gathering many new references and of putting those already known into such shape that use can be made of them, of reducing conjecture to the smallest dimensions consistent with coherence,—in brief, of letting us see just where we stand with regard to certain points in Chaucer's life. What may be the more direct value of the study has been pointed out in the closing Summary.

The subjects treated in the various chapters have been chosen partly because of a desire to begin at the beginning, partly because they readily lent themselves to such treatment as that outlined above, and mainly because of the need of a complete and trustworthy account of Chaucer's ancestry. Owing to the large number of references in the foot-notes it has been necessary to abbreviate those that occur most frequently; a list of such abbreviations will be found on the pages immediately following the Preface. In order to facilitate cross reference, the notes of each chapter have been numbered consecutively, and a reference to a note usually implies reference to that part of the text to which it is attached. Owing to the interchange of names among the Chaucers, one person often having two or more different surnames, the account of their lives becomes at times a bit confusing. This confusion will be lessened by a preliminary study of the table at the end of the Summary, where the surnames and the relationships are given in condensed form. It is hoped that the cross-references will also serve as aids to clearness and unity.

I take this opportunity to thank those who have aided me in

the preparation of this monograph: Professor James W. Bright of the Johns Hopkins University, who suggested the study to me and has helped me throughout; Professor W. W. Skeat, Dr. F. J. Furnivall and Mr. Walter Rye of England, who have courteously answered my inquiries; Dr. J. D. Rodeffer of Roanoke College and Dr. De La Warr B. Easter of Randolph-Macon College, to whom I am indebted for many favors; and all those who have kindly lent me their time and thought. I am under especial obligations to Mr. V. B. Redstone of Woodbridge, England, for the use of certain notes as to the relation between Agnes Chaucer and William de Northwell, Keeper of the King's Wardrobe, and for a copy of the *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* containing the valuable results of his researches upon "The Chaucer-Malyn Family", even though the article "comes me cranking in and cuts me from" several of my own discoveries.

A. A. K.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
November 29, 1906.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Acad.* = *The Academy*, London, 1869—.
- Ashmole = *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*. E. Ashmole, London, 1652.
- Ath.* = *The Athenaeum*, London, 1828—.
- Bale = *Scriptorum illustrium Maioris Brytannice*, &c. John Bale, Basileae, 1557-59.
- Bell, J. = *Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Ed. by John Bell, Edinburg, 1782.
- Bell, R. = *Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Ed. by Robert Bell, London, 1854-6.
- Bib. Sac.* = *The Bibliotheca Sacra*, Andover and Oberlin, 1844—.
- Biog. Brit.* = *Biographia Britannica*. Ed. A. Kippis, London, 1778-93. (2nd ed.)
- Boileau, E., *Livre des Métiers* = *Histoire Générale de Paris. Les Métiers et Corporations de la Ville de Paris, XIII Siècle. Le Livre des Métiers*. Pub. par Réne de Lespinasse et F. Bonnardot, Paris, 1879.
- Brandl = "Mittelenglische Literatur" by Alois Brandl, in Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, Strassburg, 1891-93.
- Camden, *Remains* = *Remains Concerning Britain*. Wm. Camden, London, 1870.
- Chambers' *Cycl. Eng. Lit.* = *Cyclopaedia of English Literature*. Ed. by Robert Chambers, Boston, 1854.¹
- Chambers' *Encyl.* = *Encyclopaedia*. W. and R. Chambers, London, 1892.¹
- Clarke, C. C. = *The Riches of Chaucer*. C. C. Clarke, London, 1835.²
- Clarke, C. C., *Tales* = *Tales from Chaucer in Prose*. C. C. Clarke, London, 1870. (2nd ed.)
- Close Rolls in Tower* = *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, 1204-27. (Gt. Brit. Rec. Com.) Ed. by T. D. Hardy, London, 1833-44.
- Depping, G. B., *Les Arts et Métiers de Paris* = *Reglemens sur les Arts et Métiers de Paris, Rédigés au XIII Siècle, et Connus sous le Nom du Livre des Métiers d'Etienne Boileau*. G. B. Depping, Paris, 1837. (*Coll. de doc. inéd. sur l'hist. de France*, 1 S.)

¹ Other* editions have been denoted by the addition of the date in parenthesis.

² Fourth edition, 1896, has no revision of the facts to which I have referred.

- Dublin Univ. Mag.* = *Dublin University Magazine*, Dublin, 1833—.
- Ely, G. H. = *Chaucer, Spenser, Sidney*. G. H. Ely, N. Y., 1894.
- Engel, E. = "Geschichte der Englischen Literatur" in *Geschichte der Weltliteratur in Einzeldarstellungen*, Band IV, Leipzig, 1883.
- Fagniez, G., *Études sur L'Industrie* = *Études sur L'Industrie et la Classe Industrielle à Paris au XIII et au XIV Siècle*. (Biblioth. de l'école des hautes études, No. 33.) G. Fagniez, Paris, 1877.
- Fox, *Acts and Mon.* = *Acts and Monuments*. John Fox, London, 1610.
- Froissart = *Chroniques de Sire Jean Froissart*.³
- Trial Forewords* = *Trial Forewords to the Parallel-Text Edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems* by F. J. Furnivall. (Chaucer Soc., 2 S., 6, 1871.)⁴
- Garnett and Gosse = *An Illustrated History of English Literature*. Richard Garnett and Edmund Gosse, N. Y., 1903.
- Gilfillan, G. = *Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*. Ed. by Geo. Gilfillan, Edinburgh, 1860. (Vol. II.)
- Gilman, A. = *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Ed. by A. Gilman, Boston, 1880.
- Godefroy = *Dictionnaire de L'Ancienne Langue Française*. Frédéric Godefroy, Paris, 1881-95. *Complément*, 1895-1902. (Godefroy, *Sup.*)
- Godwin = *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Wm. Godwin, London, 1804. (2nd ed.)
- Haweis, H. R., *Chaucer for Child*, = *Chaucer for Children*. Mrs. H. R. Haweis, London, 1877.
- Haweis, H. R. = *Chaucer for Schools*. Mrs. H. R. Haweis, Phila., 1886.
- Hertzberg = *Canterbury-geschichten*. W. Hertzberg, Hildburghausen, 1870.
- Jespersen, O. = *Chaucer's Liv og Digtning*. Otto Jespersen, Copenhagen, 1893.
- Jusserand = *Histoire Littéraire du Peuple Anglais*. J. J. Jusserand, Paris, 1894.
- Kirk = *Forewords to the Life Records of Chaucer*, Vols. I-IV, by R. E. G. Kirk.
- Kirk, L. R. IV = *Life Records of Chaucer*, Vol. IV. (Chaucer Soc. 2 S., 32, 1900.) Ed. by R. E. G. Kirk.
- Körting = *Grundriss der Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur*. G. Körting, Münster, 1899. (3rd ed.)
- Leland = *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*. John Leland, Oxonii, 1709.

³ Trans. by Lord Berners, London, 1812; Thos. Johnes, London, 1874. Ed. by J. A. C. Buchon, Paris, 1835; M. de Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, Bruxelles, 1866-77; S. Luce et S. Raynaud, Paris, 1869.

⁴ Pp. 129-48 are in *Originals and Analogues*, Chaucer Soc., 2 S., 10, 1875.

- Lounsbury = *Studies in Chaucer*. T. R. Lounsbury, N. Y., 1892.
- Lounsbury (1900) = *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. T. R. Lounsbury (Introduction), N. Y., 1900.
- Lounsbury (*Warner Lib.*) = *Library of the World's Best Literature*. ("Chaucer", Vol. VI, by T. R. Lounsbury.) Ed. by C. D. Warner, N. Y., 1896.
- Meiklejohn, J. M. D. = *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*. Ed. by J. M. D. Meiklejohn, London, 1880.
- Minto, W. = "Chaucer" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. (9th ed.)
- Morley (1867) = *English Writers*. Henry Morley, London, 1867.
- Morley = *English Writers*. (Vol. V.) Henry Morley, London, 1890.
- Morley, *Eng. Lit.* = *A First Sketch of English Literature*. Henry Morley, London, n. d. (3rd ed.)
- Morris, R., *Prolog.* = *The Prologue, The Knightes Tale, The Nonne Prestes Tale from the Canterbury Tales*. Ed. by Richard Morris, Clarendon Press, 1877. (6th ed.)⁵
- Morris-Skeat, *Prolog.* = *Ibid.* Rev. by W. W. Skeat, Clarendon Press, 1895.
- Müller, W. = "Chaucer" in *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*. Ed. by J. S. Ersch und J. G. Gruber, Leipzig, 1818—.
- Nicolas = *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Sir Harris Nicolas, London, 1843.⁶
- Nicolas, S. & G. Roll = *Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry*, A. D. 1385-90. Ed. by Sir Harris Nicolas, London, 1832.
- Norman People* = *Norman People and their Existing Descendants in the British Dominions and U. S. A.* London, 1874. (2nd ed.)
- North Brit. Rev.* = *The North British Review*, Edinburgh, 1844-71.
- N. & Q.* = *Notes and Queries*, London, 1850—.
- Papworth = *Alphabetical Dictionary of Coats of Arms Belonging to Families in Great Britain and Ireland*. J. W. Papworth and A. W. Morant, London, 1874.
- Pits = *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis*. John Pits, Parisiis, 1619.
- Pollard = *Chaucer*. A. W. Pollard, London, 1893.
- Pollard (1901) = "Chaucer" in *Chambers' Cycl. Eng. Lit.* (1901). A. W. Pollard, Philadelphia, 1901.
- Pollard (*Globe ed.*) = "Life of Chaucer" in *Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (*Globe ed.*), London, 1901.
- Pollard, *Prolog.* = *The Prologue*. Ed. by A. W. Pollard, London, 1903.
- Riley, *Mem.* = *Memorials of London and London Life in XIII, XIV, and XV Centuries*. Ed. by H. T. Riley, London, 1868.

⁵ The sketch of the poet's life was revised in the 1883 edition by Dr. F. J. Furnivall.

⁶ Reprinted in the Aldine edition of the poet's works.

- Riley, *Liber Albus* = *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn.* (Gt. Brit. Rolls Chron.) Ed. by H. T. Riley, London, 1859-62.⁷
- Robson = *The British Herald.* Thomas Robson, Sunderland, 1830.
- Rot. Parl. = *Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parlamento Tempore Edwardi R. I.-Hen. VII.* (Gt. Brit. Rec. Com.) London, n. d.
- Rye, W., *L. R.*, III = *Chaucer's Grandfather and the Poet's Connection with Lynn and Norfolk. Life Records of Chaucer*, III. (Chaucer Soc., 2 S., 21, 1886.)
- Sandras = *Étude sur G. Chaucer Considéré comme Imitateur des Trouvères.* E. G. Sandras, Paris, 1859.
- Schmitz, L. = "Life of Chaucer" in *The Poems of Geoffr y Chaucer Modernized.* R. H. Horne and others, London, 1841.
- Selby, W. D., *L. R.*, III = *Chaucer as Forrester of North Petherton. Life Records of Chaucer*, III. (Chaucer Soc., 2 S., 21, 1886.)
- Sharpe, R. R., *Cal. Wills* = *Cal. of Wills Preserved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting*, London, 1258-1688. Ed. by R. R. Sharpe, London, 1889.
- Shaw, T. B. = *Complete Manual of English Literature.* T. B. Shaw, N. Y., 1871.
- Singer, S. W. = "Life of Chaucer" in *The British Poets*, Chiswick, 1822.
- Skeat = *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer.* Ed. by W. W. Skeat, Clarendon Press, 1894.
- Skeat, *Prioress' Tale* = *The Prioress' Tale, Sire Thopas, The Monkes Tale, The Clerkes Tale, The Squieres Tale, from The Canterbury Tales.* Ed. by W. W. Skeat, Clarendon Press, 1899. (7th ed.)
- Skeat (Bohn) = Notes to the "Life of Chaucer" in R. Bell's *Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Bohn's Library), London, 1878.
- Student's Chaucer* = *The Student's Chaucer.* Ed. by W. W. Skeat, Oxford University Press, 1900.
- Smyth, G. L., *Mon. St. Paul's and West. Abbey* = *The Monuments and Genii of St. Paul's Cathedral and of Westminster Abbey.* G. L. Smyth, London, 1826.
- Smyth, G. L., *West. Abbey* = *Biographical Illustrations of Westminster Abbey.* G. L. Smyth, London, 1843.
- Snell, F. J. = *The Age of Chaucer.* F. J. Snell, London, 1901.
- Snell, F. J., *XIV. Cen.* = *The Fourteenth Century.* (Periods of European Literature.) F. J. Snell, London, 1899.
- Speght = *Works of our Antient and Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer.* Thos. Speght, London, 1598.⁸

⁷ Translated by H. T. Riley, London, 1862.

⁸ Other editions have been denoted by the addition of the date in parenthesis.

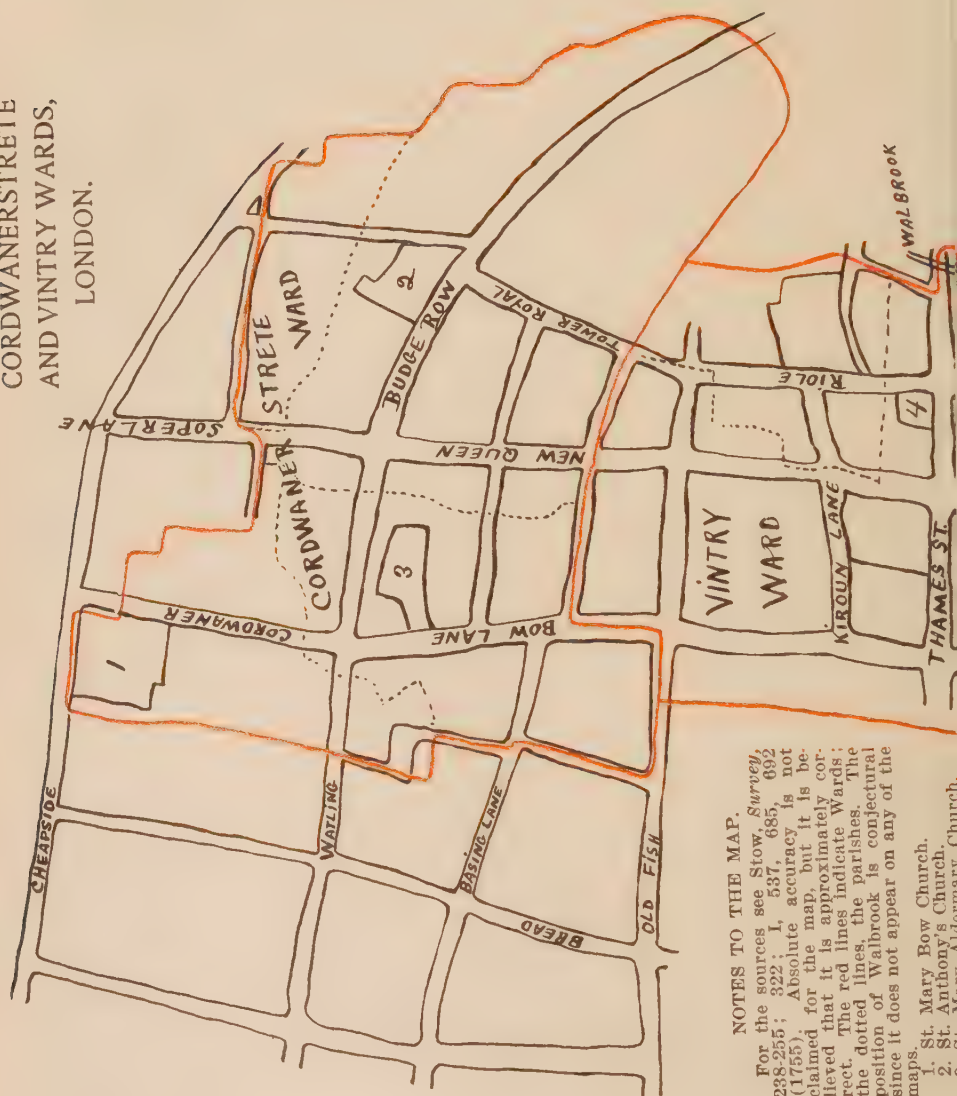
- Stow, *Survey* = *A Survey of London, Written in the Year 1598*, by John Stow. Ed. by W. J. Thoms, London, 1876.⁹
- Thynne = *Chaucer, Animadversions, &c.*, by Francis Thynne. Ed. by F. J. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc., 2 S., 13.¹⁰
- Tyrwhitt = *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*. Ed. by T. Tyrwhitt, London, 1822.
- Urry = *The Workes of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Ed. by John Urry, London, 1721.¹¹
- Ward = *Chaucer* (English Men of Letters). A. W. Ward, London, 1879.
- Wülker = *Geschichte der Englischen Literatur*. Richard Wülker, Leipzig und Wien, 1896.

⁹ Thom's edition is based upon the edition of 1603, collated with that of 1598, and is therefore the best for reference (see note 8).

¹⁰ Ed. by G. H. Kingsley, E. E. T. S., No. 9, 1865, and reprinted in *Illustrations of the Lives and Writings of Gower and Chaucer*, by H. J. Todd, London, 1810.

¹¹ Usually referred to as Urry's Life. The authorship has been ascribed to several scholars; Mr. Brae (*Astrolabe*, p. 2) = J. Thomson; J. Bell (I, p. ccxxv) and J. Granger (*Biographical History of England*, London, 1824, I, p. 81) = Timothy Thomas. The account was probably drawn up by the antiquarian John Dart; then corrected and enlarged by Wm. Thomas (probably the brother of Timothy), who had charge of the printing of the volume and who prefixed the Preface to it. Cf. Tyrwhitt, I, p. xxiv, note n; Lounsbury, I, 186; *Trial Forewords*, 134, note 1; *N. & Q.*, 5 S., II, 382.

CORDWANERSTRETE
AND VINTRY WARDS,
LONDON.



NOTES TO THE MAP.

For the sources see Stow, *Survey*, 238-255; 322; 1, 537, 685, 692 (1755). Absolute accuracy is not claimed for the map, but it is believed that it is approximately correct. The red lines indicate wards; the dotted lines, the parishes. The position of Walbrook is conjectural since it does not appear on any of the maps.

1. St. Mary Bow Church.
2. St. Anthony's Church.
3. St. Mary's Church.

THE ANCESTRY OF CHAUCER

I.

THE NAME CHAUCER.

The usual derivation of the name Chaucer is from the O. F. *chaucier*, *chaussier*, 'a shoemaker', on which ground it has been conjectured both that he himself was of Norman origin and that his origin was low.¹ Tyrwhitt, however, in 1775, while preferring the derivation given above, suggested that according to what was said to be the old spelling of the name, *Chaucesir*, it might have been derived from *Chaufecire*, an office which then existed under the title of *Chafewax*.² Later writers declare Chaucer to have held this office, and from this fact to have gained his name.³ Their views, however, had but little

¹ Speght; Thynne, 13-14; Urry; Chaufepié, *Dictionnaire*, Amsterdam, 1750, II, 71, note B; *Biog. Brit.*, III, 450, note A; J. Bell, I, p. vi; R. Bell, I, 12, note 1; R. Anderson, *British Poets*, London, 1795, I, p. iii; Chalmers, *English Poets*, London, 1810, I, p. iii; G. Gilfillan, p. vi; C. C. Clarke, 2; *Tales*, 3; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiii; G. G. Cunningham, *Lives of Eminent Englishmen*, Glasgow, 1836, I, 465; Hertzberg, 22; *Dublin Univ. Mag.*, LIII, 274-5; *North Brit. Rev.*, X, 292; *N. & Q.*, 6 S., IV, 512; Körting, 159; E. Engel, 57; Brandl, II, 673; Jespersen, 5; Lounsbury, I, 14; Pollard, 3; *Globe ed.*, p. xix, note 1; *Prol.*, p. xi, note 1; Morley, II, pt. I, 141 (1867); V, 84; Skeat, I, p. ix; *Ath.*, Feb. 4, 1899, 145; Ward, 47; Garnett & Gosse, I, 136; Kirk, p. vii; F. J. Snell, 122; see p. 15, notes 2, 3. For the connection of the name with the *Battle Abbey Roll* see p. 15.

² Tyrwhitt, I, p. xxix, (a); R. Bell, I, 12, note 1. I have found no instance of this spelling (cf. p. 10). The *Chafewax* was an officer of the Chancery who heated the wax upon which the Spigurnel pressed the Seal. The office was abolished in England in 1852. Cf. Skeat, *Ath.*, Mar. 25, 1899, 372; Du Cange *Glossarium, Calefactor cereae*.

³ *Life of John Lord Campbell*, ed. Hardcastle, London, 1881, II, 276, note 2; *N. & Q.*, 6 S., IV, 512. Morley (II, pt. I, 141, 1867; V, 84) also noted that *Chausir* as a Court office might be *Chauffecire* or *Chaffwax*. He is wrong in saying that the occurrence of "le Chausir" in the *Tower Records* suggested to Speght that "shoemaker" was the name of a Court office. Speght in his first edition did not mention the

weight, and the former derivation was not seriously called in question until 1899. During this year certain deeds were discovered which appeared to support the claim of *Chaufecire*, and the discussion was accordingly renewed.⁴

Mr. Scott, the Keeper of the MSS. of the British Museum, discovered in 1899 thirteen deeds referring to one Elias de Chaufecire and his wife, Egidia. In eleven of these the name appears as Chaufecire, in one as Chaucer, and in another as Le Chaucers; the name Chaucer occurring in such a connection as to show that Chaucer and Chaufecire were equivalent terms. The deed in which the name occurs as Chaucer bears the following endorsement: "*De terra quondam Will. Valence justa Egid. Chaufecire in vico de Tuthill*",—which proves the identity of the two terms.⁵ Only one of the deeds is expressly dated, that of Feb. 17, 1315, which refers to the tenement of Egidia.

An examination of the *Close* and *Patent Rolls* of Chaucer's

Tower Record, and in the 1602 and 1687 editions he merely recorded the occurrence of the name among the *Tower Records*. The statement was made by Thynne, from whom Speght, in his later editions, derived the mention of the name. Thynne, 14; E. Sanford, *British Poets*, Phila., 1819, p. 8.

⁴ For a complete discussion of the question cf. *Ath.*, 1899: Skeat, Feb. 4, 145; Mar. 25, 372; E. G. Atkinson, Feb. 18, 210; Feb. 25, 242; W. Rye, Feb. 18, 211; A. Hall, Feb. 18, 211; W. H. Stevenson, Mar. 4, 274; Apr. 8, 435; R. R. Sharpe, Mar. 18, 338; H. Harrison, Mar. 18, 338; P. Toynbee, Apr. 15, 468. Neither the above mentioned scholars (with the possible exception of Mr. Atkinson, p. 210) nor Pollard (*Prol.*, p. xi, note 1) and Kirk (*L. R.*, IV, 250, note 3) refer to the instances of the derivation from *Chaufecire* just given.

⁵ Skeat, *Ath.*, Feb. 4, 1899, 145; Mar. 25, 372. To add to the confusion, in each of the six deeds mentioned in Skeat's second note, either Elias, or his wife, or both, are called Le Spigurnel, and in one of them he is termed Elyas de Ely le Espirgurnel. The probable explanation of this is that he had been promoted from the office of Chaufecire to that of Spigurnel. This occurred in the case of Henry Chaufecire (E. G. Atkinson, *Ath.*, Feb. 25, 1899, 242), and in the case of Richard Chaufecire, who was promoted in like manner, there is a corresponding change of name from Chaufecire to Spigurnel (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 12 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 6).

own century shows that one Henry Chaufsir was variously referred to as: ⁶

Henry Chaufsir.

Henry le Chaufser of Acom.

Henry de Acum, Chaufecire to the late King in his Chancery.

Henry Chaufecire.

Henry Chaufcyre, "always attendant in the Chancery".

Henry de Acom, Chaufecire of the Chancery.

Henry Chaufcire de Acom.

Henry Chaufcire de Acum.

Henry de Acom.

Henry de Acum, Chaufecire.

Henry de Acum.

Henry Chaufcire.

Henry le Chaufcyre.

Henry Chaucire, king's serjeant.

Henry de Acum, "spygurnel".

Henry de Acum, spigurnel, the king's serjeant.

He was preceded in office by "Richard Chaufecyre de sa Chancellerie",⁷ also written "Richard Chaufecire"⁸ (in the

⁶ E. G. Atkinson, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 210; Feb. 25, 242; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. II., m. 15 d.; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Edw. II., m. 26 d.; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 24; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 5 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 25; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 14 d.; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Edw. III., pt. III, m. 10; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 2 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 20; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 6 Edw. III., m. 14 d.; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 18; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 10 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 42; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 13 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 33 d.; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 13 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 1; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 14 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 42. I have discovered the following new records bearing upon the question in the *Cal. Close Rolls*: 12 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 25 d.; 8 Edw. III., m. 10 d.; 7 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 24 d.; pt. II, m. 5 d.; 10 Edw. III., m. 36 d.; 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 20 d. Were it necessary the list could easily be increased by a search through the *Rolls* series. The last four names in the list have been added by me. Owing to their comparative unimportance these new records have not been included in the Appendix.

⁷ *Petition in Public Record Office*, E. 491.

⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 2 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 11; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 6 Edw. II., m. 27 d.

margin is written "Richard le Chaufecire"),⁹ who like Henry was promoted to the office of Spigurnel. We thus have conclusive evidence that the designation "le Chaufecire" could and did become a surname,¹⁰ and that in one instance it became "Chaucer".

Circumstantial evidence in favor of this derivation is given by the fact that just as Richard Chaufecire held the forrester-ship of Maillorseisnek,¹¹ and Henry Chaufsir had appointments in the forests of Inglewood and Galtres,¹² so Geoffrey Chaucer held the forrestership of North Petherton.¹³ It has also been suggested that Richard Chaufecire and Richard le Chaucer were the same person,¹⁴ and that the O. F. *chaucier*, *chaussier* is extremely rare, especially in Anglo-French. Godefroy, it is claimed, adduces only two examples of it, both of which relate to the inhabitants of Paris, while in his *Supplement* he gives five examples of *chauffecire*, the earliest of which is dated 1319.¹⁵

This is, indeed, slight evidence upon which to state that the surname Chaucer was derived from "Chaufecire". All that has been shown is that "Chaufecire", like many another name of the period, was loosely used both as to its orthography and its meaning, and that it behaved quite normally in passing gradually from the designation of an office to that of a surname. In one instance it became "Chaucer", but much more evidence than this one instance is necessary before "Chaufecire" can

⁹ Cf. also, "*Jehan dit Cauffechire*, 1334". Godefroy, *Sup.*, *chauffecire*.

¹⁰ Cf. the surname Spigurnel < the office of Spigurnel (see note 5).

¹¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 2 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 11; W. Rye, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211; E. G. Atkinson, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 210; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 12 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 6 (new).

¹² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 24; 2 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 20; 5 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 25; E. G. Atkinson, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 210; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, 20 d. (new).

¹³ Collinson's *Somerset*, III, 62; W. D. Selby, *L. R.*, III, 117-23; *Ath.*, Nov. 20, 1886, 672; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 291; E. G. Atkinson, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 210.

¹⁴ W. Rye, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211.

¹⁵ Skeat, *Ath.*, Feb. 4, 1899, 145; St. C. Baddeley, *N. & Q.*, 9 S., I, 191, note.

be regarded as the source of the poet's name. The instance cited I should prefer to regard as an isolated example of the looseness of the orthography of the time,—influenced, perhaps, by the surname Chaucer < O. F. *chaucier*,—for from “Chaufser” to “Chaucer” was by no means an impossible step for the scribe of the fourteenth century.

The statement that Chaucer once held the office of Chafewax is totally without foundation, there being no evidence for it among the *Life Records* or elsewhere; and the evidence of the forresterships is too weak to require refutation. The same might also be said of the identity of Richard Chaufecire and Richard le Chaucer,—the known facts in the lives of the two men offer no support to the theory.¹⁶

A third derivation of the name removes it from all connection with *chausses*, *chaussures*, &c., as well as the Chancery. Mr. St. Clair Baddeley¹⁷ announced that the name was but one of many variants of the root Cahors, or Chaources, and that the poet was therefore related to the families of Chaworth and Cadurcis. His theory is bound up with a supposed Gloucestershire origin for the poet, and will be further referred to under that head (see p. 111). Here it will be sufficient to note that he does not prove his point.

A fourth source is found in the offices of the chase, it having been suggested that the name was formed as are the modern surnames Hunt and Hunter¹⁸ and was equivalent to ‘chaser’. There is no foundation whatever for such a view.

¹⁶ Mr. Hall's suggestion (*Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211) that the Elias le Chaufecire of the deeds may have been a Chaucer, also described professionally as “le Chaufecire”, is rendered useless by Skeat's note (*Ath.*, Mar. 25, 1899, 372), which shows that Elias was the son of Wm. de Meleford. The “Chaucer” must, therefore, have been acquired through his office. This, as well as the fact that his wife's name was Egidia, would render it extremely improbable that he is to be identified with the Elias le Chaucer who was living in Cordwanerstrete Ward about the same time, and whose wife was named Agnes (see p. 26). Skeat's note also disproves Mr. Stevenson's suggestion (*Ath.*, Mar. 4, 1899, 274) that he might have been Elias de Hertford.

¹⁷ *N. & Q.*, 8 S., XII, 341; 9 S., I, 189; *W. Rye*, 8 S., XII, 449; 9 S., I, 331; *A. R. Bayley*, 9 S., IX, 134.

¹⁸ *A. H. in N. & Q.*, 4 S., IV, 226.

In support of the usual derivation are the following facts. First: the occurrence of the word as a trade-name where it cannot be identified with the Chancery. Mr. H. T. Riley says, "The name 'Chaucer' frequently occurs in the early *Letter Books*, but as it was the then French term commonly in use for shoemaker, it is doubtful in some instances whether it is employed strictly as a surname inherited from a father or more remote ancestor, or merely as a designation of its owner's trade."¹⁹ Or again, in the "Glossary of Anglo-Norman and Early English Words" (*Liber Albus*, III, 302), he has: "chaucer. Fr. (438) A shoemaker. The designation of a trade, followed by the individual or his ancestor, here employed as a surname".

Second: the fairly frequent occurrence of the name Chaucer.²⁰ The surname Chaucer was too common to have arisen from "Chaufecire".

Third: the earliest mention of "Chaufecire" as recorded by Godefroy is in 1319, while as early as 1226, or even earlier, record occurs of a Radulphus le Chaucer, who is the first of a chain of Chaucers extending into the next century.²¹ Those who are inclined to accept Thynne's statement as to the name occurring on the *Battle Abbey Roll* will find an even earlier use of the name. If "Chaufecire" were the word which gave rise to "Chaucer", we should expect to find instances of its use prior to 1226, for some time would have to elapse before the word could lose its original signification and become a genuine surname. There were Chaucers who were *merchants* as early as 1252 and 1293 (see pp. 20, 21).

¹⁹ For instances of use as a trade-name cf. Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiii; W. H. Stevenson, *Ath.*, Mar. 4, 1899, 274; R. R. Sharpe, *Ath.*, Mar. 18, 1899, 338.

²⁰ See cap. II. It has been claimed that "Chaucer" was not a common name in the fourteenth century. Cf. W. H. Stevenson, *Ath.*, Mar. 4, 1899, 274; Apr. 8, 435; *North Brit. Rev.*, X, 299. But for the contrary see Camden, *Remains*, 133; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiii; H. R. Haweis, *Chaucer for Child.*, 6, note; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Pollard, 2-3; *Globe ed.*, p. xix, note 1; (1901), 5; Lounsbury, I, 10, 100; Garnett & Gosse, I, 136; Jenks, *In the Days of Chaucer*, N. Y., 1904, p. 15.

²¹ See p. 20 and Robert le Chaucier, 1222, p. 7.

Fourth: the English word *chaucer* (< O. F. *chaucier*, 'a hosier') was the name for shoemaker, and regularly became used as a surname.²² Dr. Geo. Keidel of the Johns Hopkins University has called my attention to the use of the word as a surname in one of the plates of the *Recueil de Fac-similés à L'Usage de L'École des Chartes*, Paris, 1881. The plate is no. 49, *Archives nationales*, L. 893, and is described in *Deuxième Fascicule*, 11. Here, among other witnesses to a sale of land in 1222-3, are, "Robert le Chaucier, Laurent le Cordonnier". This is the earliest record of the name as a surname that I have seen, and it also serves to illustrate the difference between *chaucier* and *cordonnier* (see p. 9; Appendix, p. 143).

Fifth: a coincidence perhaps worth mention is that both Richard and John Chaucer, as well as others of the family, lived first in Cordwanerstrete Ward, London, the settlement of the shoemakers,²³ and Robert, the poet's grandfather, was known among his Ipswich kinsfolk as "the Sadeler".²⁴ That the poet's immediate ancestors should have been vintners, and not shoemakers, is not strange when the antiquity of the name is remembered. Another coincidence, that may after all be more than mere coincidence, is that the form of the name used upon Chaucer's seal is *Chaucier*,²⁵ which, as we have seen, agrees exactly with the French word usually given as the origin of the name. The form *Chaucier* also occurs elsewhere, referring to Robert, Richard, John, Geoffrey, and Thomas Chaucer (cf. pp. 10 ff.). Would not these instances, especially that of the seal, indicate that this form of the word was more

²² Thynne, 13; Camden, *Remains*, 133; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiii. For instances of the use of the French *chaucier* as a surname cf. G. B. Depping, *Les Arts et Métiers de Paris*, 141; E. Boileau, *Livre des Métiers*, 115; Godefroy, *chauceteor*.

²³ See p. 35 and map of London. The hosiers also dwelt in Cordwanerstrete Ward, the upper end of Cordwanerstrete having been called Hosiers Lane on account of the hosiers dwelling there. Stow, *Survey*, 94.

²⁴ Redstone (see note 32).

²⁵ *Ancient Deeds*, D. S. 79; *Archaeologia*, XXXIV, 42; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 333.

than a mere orthographical variant? And if this be so, could it have been derived from "Chaufecire"?²⁶

Sixth: *chaucier* is not so rare as has been supposed. Thus, the following forms of the word exist: *chauceor*, *chausour*, *chausseur*, all having the meaning *chaussetier*; *chaucier*, meaning *chaussure*, *soulier*, *chalcier*, or *caucer*, and many other similar forms;²⁷ the many forms of the verb *chausser*, 'to clothe the feet' (among which are *chaucier* and *chaucer*);²⁸ and many other related words. Hitherto only two examples of the form *chaucier* have been discovered in Godefroy (p. 4). But a third example, dated 1346, can be found under the word *chaucerie* in Godefroy; a fourth example of the same word, though spelt *chausier*, occurs under *chauceor*; a fifth is in the *Supplement* under *chaçons*; and another can be found in Sainte-Palaye (*Dictionnaire Historique de L'Ancien Langage Français*, Paris, 1875.) under *chaucerie* (see Appendix, p. 144; cf. also Lacombe, *Dictionnaire du Vieux Langage Français*, Paris, 1766, "*chauciers, faiseurs de chausses ou culottiers, terme en usage en 1300*"). The trade-name *chaucier* for *chaussetier* occurs in *Les Rôles des Tailles Levées à Paris*; ²⁹ sixty-one are listed in the roll of 1292, and forty-eight in that of 1300. For information as to the *chauciers* of Paris see G. B. Depping,

²⁶ Mr. Stevenson (*Ath.*, Apr. 8, 1899, 435) states that if the form *Chaucers* really occurs it puts out of court the derivation from "Chaufecire", since *cire* is feminine, and as it is necessarily in the accusative case in such a compound, it could not have the masculine nominative singular suffix *s*. The form *Chaucers* is met with (pp. 11, 18, 21), but Mr. Paget Toynbee has called attention to the fact that the "rule of *s*" was scarcely so accurately observed by the English scribes of the early XIV. century, and that such forms can easily be explained by analogy. Mr. Kirk (*L. R.*, IV, 250, note 3) would make the "*s*" a remnant of the "*s*" of *calcearius*, but it is more probably the above-mentioned inflectional "*s*" of the nom. sing. Anglo-Norman was especially loose in the use of forms. Cf. the numerous doublets with and without "*s*" among the proper names in *Lestorie des Angles solum la Translacion Maistre Geffrie Gaimar*, ed. Hardy and Martin, London, 1888-9 (*Chron. Gt. Brit.*).

²⁷ Cf. Godefroy.

²⁸ *Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française*, sub. *chausser*, *Etym.*

²⁹ G. Fagniez, *Études sur L'Industrie*, II, 248.

Les Arts et Métiers de Paris, 138 ff.; E. Boileau, *Livre des Métiers*, 133 ff. *Chaucier* was later displaced by *chaussetier*,³⁰ which accounts for the comparative scarcity of the former word; but sufficient evidence has been produced to show that in French of the thirteenth century the word was by no means of rare occurrence.

Seventh: such a derivation agrees with the supposed French origin of the family (see p. 15).

In view of these facts, there seems to be no apparent reason why Robert, John, and Geoffrey Chaucer should not have gained their surname in the usual way; and hence we may continue to associate the poet's name with "the gentle craft" not otherwise unassociated with the history of poetry. The line of derivation would thus be: Lat. *calcearium* (shoemaker) > O. F. *chaucier* (hosier) > Eng. *chaucer* (shoemaker or hosier) > Chaucer(s). Those who have written on the subject since 1899 have usually held to this derivation.³¹

Mr. V. B. Redstone has shown that Robert le Chaucer was the son of Andrew Malyn of Ipswich, and that he and others of the family were known both as Malyn and as Chaucer.³² For an explanation of the manner in which the name Chaucer (< *chaucier*) was substituted for that of Malyn see p. 125.

The O. F. *chaucier* does not mean 'shoemaker', but 'hosier', *fabricant de chausses*, as opposed to *cordouannier*, *fabricant des chaussures*.³³ See *Chausses* and *Chaussure* in

³⁰ "Les chauciers, appelés ensuite chaussetiers, faisoient en drap, toile ou soie, les chausses qui tenoient lieu de bas, et qui en avoient la forme". G. B. Depping, *Les Arts et Métiers de Paris*, 138, note 3.

³¹ Kirk, p. vii; *L. R.*, IV, 250, note 3; Pollard (1901), 5; Prol., p. xi, note 1; Garnett & Gosse, I, 136; Wyatt, *Prologue, Man of Law's Tale*, London, p. 1; Jenks, *In the Days of Chaucer*, N. Y., 1904, p. 15; Tuckwell, *Chaucer*, London, 1904, p. 10. F. J. Snell (p. 122) accepts the derivation from *Chaufecire*.

³² See the *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology*, XII, 184. A brief statement of his results was printed in *Ath.*, Feb. 4, 1906, 233. Further mention of his article will be made in the chapters that follow.

³³ Godefroy, "*chaucier, chauscier, s. m. chaussetier, fabricant de chausses*". *Sup.*, "*cordouannier, mod. cordonnier, s. m., celui qui fabrique ou vend des chaussures*". See Sainte Palaye under *chaucerie* and note 30.

New Eng. Dict. It is not, therefore, strictly correct to say, as is still done,³⁴ that the name Chaucer is derived from the O. F. *chaucier*, a 'shoemaker'. It must be remembered, however, that in England the term *chaucer* usually had this signification. Tyrwhitt was the first to draw the distinction.³⁵

As an interesting example of the growth of a surname from a trade-name the use of "le" in connection with Robert, Richard, and John Chaucer serves excellently. In the case of Robert, the grandfather, "le" is always used.³⁶ In the first nine records relating to Richard Chaucer, the step-grandfather, "le" is used, and then with three exceptions in 1341 and 1344 "le" is regularly omitted; while with John, the father, the "le" is never used. The intermediate stage is seen in *Husting Rolls*, 76, No. 179, where the name was first written *Johannis le Chaucer*, and then the "le" was struck out, and in *De Recognitionibus*, 16-17 Edw. III., m. 2 d., where the name occurs as John le Chaucer side by side with the form John Chaucer. This is the only known use of the "le" in connection with John's name (for the record see Redstone, p. 199).

As a sort of Appendix the various forms in which the names of the Chaucers occur in the *Life Records* and elsewhere have been given below. The name is now believed to have become quite extinct.³⁷

I. GEOFFREY and PHILIPPA.

CHAUCER. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 5 Ric. II., pt. II, m. 21 (236).³⁸

CHAUCERE. *Issue Roll*, Mich., 14 Ric., II., m. 23 (289).

³⁴ Morley, II, pt. I, 141 (1867); V, 84; Pollard (1901), 5; F. J. Snell, 122; Garnett & Gosse, I, 136.

³⁵ I, p. xxix, (a). Others who make the distinction are Camden, *Remains*, 133; Hertzberg, 22; F. J. Snell, *XIV. Cen.*, 287; E. Engel, 57; Körting, 159; Brandl, II, 673; Skeat, I, p. ix; *Ath.*, Feb. 4, 1899, 145.

³⁶ Mr. Kirk (*L. R.*, IV, 144) prints it "de", but the printed edition of the *Rot. Parl.*, II, 14, has "le". Mr. Kirk's "note 1" should be extended to include Robert also.

³⁷ Pollard, 2.

³⁸ The nos. in parenthesis refer to *L. R.*, IV.

- CHAUNCER. *Issue Roll*, Mich., 1 Hen. IV., m. 10 (331).
 CHAUSER. *Coram Rege Roll*, Easter, 14 Ric., II., Rex roll I (295).
 CHAUCY. *Duchy of Lancaster Reg.*, vol. 14, f. 31 (226).
 CHAUSE. *Duchy of Lancaster Reg.*, No. 13, f. 159 d. (181).
 CHAUCERS. *Close Rolls*, 10 Ric. II., m. 16 d. (267).
 CHAUCIER. *French Roll*, 1 Ric. II., pt. II, m. 6 (215).

The following are met with but once:

- CHAUCHERS. *Issue Roll*, Easter, 42 Edw. III., m. 10 (161).
 CHAUSYER. *Close Rolls*, 1 Ric. II., m. 45 (208).
 CHAUCERES. *Writs & Returns of Members of Parliament*, Chancery, 10 Ric. II. (262).
 CHAUNCERE. *Exchequer Accounts, &c., Works*, $\frac{473}{3}$, No. 2 (282).
 CHAWSERUS. *Gascoigne's Theological Dict.* (MS. at Lincoln College) (332).
 CHAWCER. *Books of Decrees & Orders*, Court of Requests, vol. 14, f. 29 (334).
 CHAUCIRE. *Close Rolls*, 8 Ric. II., m. 31 (250).
 CHACY. *Duchy of Lancaster Reg.*, No. 13, f. 224 (193).
 CAUSER. Poem on *Fortune*, Cambridge MS. Ii. 3. 21; Skeat, I, 26.
 CHAUCYRE. Poem on *Truth*, Harl. 7333, Brit. Mus.; Skeat, I, 550.
 CHAUCYER. "A Ballade made by Giffrey Chaucyer upon his Dethe Bedde lying in his grete anguyse". MS. Cotton, Otho, A, XVII; G. L. Smyth, *West. Abbey*, 12; *Mon. St. Paul's & West. Abbey*, I, 259. Skeat (I, 49, 51, 82, 550) makes no mention of this MS., but notices that Shirley labelled the poem, "Balade that Chaucier made on his deeth-bedde", which he regards as a mere bad guess.

CHARSHER. Hearne, *Works*, London, 1810, II, 599.

CHAUCIERS. "The Balade of Pytee", *MS. Harl.* 78;
Skeat, I, 75.

CAUCHIER.	}	Froissart, ed. Luce, VIII, 226; ed.
CAUCHIES.		Kervyn de Lettenhove, VIII, 383;
		Lounsbury, I, 152. ⁸⁹

The names are given in the order of the frequency of their occurrence. Most of the variants occur in the later records, the spelling "Chaucer" being largely predominant, especially in the earlier documents. The form "Chaucere" does not occur before 1386, but is rather frequently to be met with after that date. It is a curious fact that the only one who uses the form "Chaucy" for "Chaucer" is John of Gaunt. He refers to Philippa once as "Chause", five times as "Chaucy", but never as "Chaucer". Elizabeth Chaucer's name occurs in the *Duchy of Lancaster Registers*, etc., but once, and then as "Chaucy"; Geoffrey's name occurs once as "Chacy", once as "Chaucy", and three times as "Chaucer"; Thomas' name is given once as "Chaucier", and twice as "Chaucer".⁹⁰ It would thus seem that "Chaucy" was the usual form of the name in the household of the Duke. The looseness of the orthography of the period is well illustrated in *Exchequer Q. R. Memoranda Roll*, Hilary, 14 Ric. II., *Brevia*, roll 22; Mich.,

⁸⁹ Froissart, ed. Buchon, VI, 102 (liv. 1, cap. 385), gives the name as "Chaucier"; Johnes' translation, I, 510 (ed. 1874), and Lord Berners', I, 482, render it as "Chaucer". Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 203; 205, note 1. A writer in *N. & Q.*, 1 S., IV, 255, inquires if the initial "ch" was not a guttural, and if the name was not Hawker or Howker, but the inquiry, for obvious reasons, failed to elicit a published answer.

⁹⁰ Philippa Chause: *Duchy of Lancaster Reg.*, No. 13, f. 159 d.; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 181. Philippa Chaucy: *Ibid.*, No. 13, f. 195; vol. 14, ff. 15 b, 33 b, 48 b, 49, 60 b, 61; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 183, 224, 225, 230, 236. Elizabeth Chaucy: *Ibid.*, vol. 14, f. 46; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 193. Geoffrey Chaucy: *Ibid.*, vol. 14, f. 31; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 226. Geoffrey Chaucer: *Ibid.*, No. 13, f. 90; vol. 14, f. 17; *Duchy of Lancaster Accounts* (Various), § 1; Nicolas, Note F; *Trial Forewords*, 145-8; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 192, 223, 212. Thomas Chaucier: *Duchy of Lancaster Accounts* (Various), § 2; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 317. Thomas Chaucer: *Duchy of Lancaster Reg.*, vol. 15, f. 61 b, pt. 2, f. 5 b; *Reg. Hen. IV.*; *L. R.*, IV, 332-3.

15 Ric. II., *Brevia*, roll 2 d.; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 289, 314, where in the same document the name is spelt "Chauncer" and "Chaucer"; or in *Issue Roll*, Mich., 14 Ric. II., m. 23; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 291, where "Chaucer" and "Chaucere" occur side by side (cf. p. 2). Other examples could be given. This irregularity was nothing unusual; see, *e. g.*, the varieties of the name Clanvowe (G. L. Kittredge, *Modern Philology*, I, 15, note 4). To them add "Clanebowe", Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 226.

II. ROBERT.

LE CHAUCER. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 9 Edw. II., m. 21 d.
(141)

LE CHAUCIER. *Rot. Parl.*, II, 14 (143).

III. RICHARD.

LE CHAUCER. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 4 Edw. III., m. 10;
Appendix, p. 146.

LE CHAUCIER. *Rot. Parl.*, II, 14 (143).⁴¹

IV. JOHN.

CHAUCER. *Ancient Deeds*, E. 465; reprinted by W.
D. Selby, *Acad.*, XII, 365.

CHAUNCER. *Ancient Deeds*, E. 465.

CHAUSER. *Husting Rolls*, 103, No. 180 (195).

CHAUCIER. *Ancient Deeds*, E. 464; reprinted by W.
D. Selby, *Acad.*, XII, 365.

CHAUSERE. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m.
29; Appendix, p. 156.

V. THOMAS.

Thomas's name is also spelt "Chaucier" (*Duchy of Lancaster, Accounts* (Various), $\frac{3}{2}\frac{2}{1}$; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 317); the other variants have been omitted, since all records relating to him are being gathered into one volume. Perhaps the widest variant of all is Jon le Janser for the John le Chaucer of 1302 (p. 22) which occurs in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (Camden Soc.), f. 61, p. 249.

⁴¹ Cf. also "Chaunar", Stow, *Survey*, II, 22 (1755); p. 78, note 67; and "Chancier", *Rot. Parl.*, II, 14; p. 50, note 33.

II.

THE CHAUCERS.

For the sake of completeness and of reference a short account of the Chaucers, who may or may not have been ancestors of the poet, has been compiled. The chapter's right of existence may perhaps be questioned, especially since it brings to light no noteworthy discovery. But such was not my aim, for I have here tried rather to construct a foundation upon which either solid structures or aerial fancies might later be based, the style of edifice varying according to its architect.

The information concerning the early Chaucers, as they are usually termed, exists in a most nebulous condition, and in several instances contains waste matter in the shape of misleading, and at times impossible, statements. An elimination of such waste matter, with a re-arrangement and condensation of the remainder, has appeared to be of value. It has thus been my endeavor to collect and present in an orderly fashion all the references to the early Chaucers, refuting the false theories, and confirming the more probable ones. Besides this general "straightening up", some new references have been added, one new Chaucer has been discovered, and several more have been rescued from the depths of forgotten volumes of *Notes and Queries*, &c. A clearer vision has thus been gained, by means of which certain minor relations, hitherto unobserved, can now be seen.

The various guesses and suggestions as to the relations between the early Chaucers and those of the poet's family have in each case been given; though most of them are useless, being either impossible, or else possible with no evidence of probability. Attention has been called to those which are impossible, except in those cases in which they are evidently so; the second class has been given without comment; and finally, the probable relations, both those already proposed, and those which have arisen from the present study have been discussed. It has already been stated that the family was known as both

Malyn and Chaucer. We are here concerned only with those named Chaucer; for the Malyns see chapter VI.

After a trial of several methods it has seemed best to arrange the Chaucers with regard, first, to their locality, and then to their Christian names, setting aside the chronological arrangement. This method shows more clearly the relation between these Chaucers and those related to the poet,—which is the chief aim of the chapter,—and also makes reference easier. This field appears to me the most promising one for Chaucer discoveries; and I believe, were the records examined more minutely with regard to these early Chaucers, the family history of the poet would be enlarged, and new light thrown upon the poet himself.¹

Owing to its name, the family is often stated to have been of French or Norman origin,² and, according to some writers, to have had as its founder a Norman chief who accompanied William the Conqueror to England, and whose name is upon the *Battle Abbey Roll*.³ Thynne (p. 4) was the discoverer of this

¹ This prediction, written two years ago, has been abundantly verified by the researches of Mr. Redstone. Errors of omission and commission are perhaps present; part of them are due to the indefinite manner in which notices of the Chaucers have been occasionally reported, and some of the remainder are due to my inability to verify the references in all cases. The notes may seem unnecessarily full, but this is because the total number of references being small, and the subject having been treated heretofore only in a fragmentary manner, it was thought advisable to include all references, however slight.

² Winstanley, *Lives of Most Famous English Poets*, London, 1687, p. 23; *Norman People*, 195; F. Bouterwek, *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit*, Göttingen, 1801, VII, 60; R. Pauli, *Pictures of Old England*, London, 1861, p. 216; *Geschichte von England*, Gotha, 1855, IV, 710; see p. 1, note 1. A. W. Ward (pp. 47-8) opposes this view. T. B. Shaw (p. 37) regards the continental source of the name as an evidence of aristocratic origin.

³ Urry; Chaufepié, *Dictionnaire*, Amsterdam, 1750, II, 71, note B; *Biog. Brit.*, III, 450, note A; Ashmole, 471; Hearne, *Works*, London, 1810, II, 596; E. Sanford, *British Poets*, Phila., 1819, p. 8; Sandras, 11; C. C. Clarke, 2; *Tales*, 3; G. Gilfillan, p. vi; J. M. D. Meiklejohn, 6; W. Müller, 216; Morley, II, pt. I, 141 (1867); V, 84; J. M. D. Morrell, *English Literature*, London, 1893, p. 38; Ward, 47. The writer in the *North Brit. Rev.* (X, 299) informs us that Chaucer was probably not unduly proud of his high lineage.

ancestor, and reference to him first appeared in the 1602 edition of Speght, who had it from Thynne. The names in the several versions of the *Roll* differ widely, and in many instances have been greatly altered or modified. The following forms have been found in the various lists: *Chaucer*, *Chauncy*, *Chaunceus*, *Corcye*, *Chancy*, *Coucy*. Only those given in the original lists have been included. Although no connection whatever between this Chaucer and the poet has been discovered, it is worthy of notice that the name really does occur there, since I have as yet seen no confirmation of Thynne's statement. Professor Lounsbury and Dr. Furnivall supposed that he took one of the similar forms, such as Chauncy, as the authority for his statement.⁴

Besides the evidence of the name itself, there are other facts which point toward a French origin. The Latin form *calcearius*, a 'shoemaker', is not found in English records, nor in those of the Netherlands, which use *caligarius* for shoemaker. *Calcearius*, with the meaning 'shoemaker', occurs in early French records, and later instances of a similar use of the word may be seen in the *Returns of the Aliens in London*, I, p. xx.⁵ The Christian names of many of the early Chaucers were more common in France than in England (cf. Baldwin, Bartholomew,

⁴Lounsbury, I, 163; Pollard, 24; Thynne, 14, note 2. For information as to the *Battle Abbey Roll* cf. *The Battle Abbey Roll*, &c., Duchess of Cleveland, London, 1899; J. B. Burke, *The Roll of the Battle Abbey*, London, 1848; Thos. Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, London, 1842, I, 233 ff. The lists are as follows: HOLINSHED'S: *Holinshed's Chronicle*, London, 1807, II, 5, and Fuller, I, 238, = *Chauncy*; Burke, 2 = *Cauncy*. DUCHESNE'S: Stow, *Annals* (1631), 105, and Fuller, I, 240, = *Chaucer*, *Chancy*, *Coucy*; Burke, 8,* = *Chancer*, &c.; Furnivall, = *Chauncy*. TAYLEUR'S: Fox, *Acts and Mon.*, I, 165; *Holinshed's Chronicle*, II, 3; Stow, *Annals*, 103; Fuller, I, 243. LELAND'S: I. Leland, *Collectanea* (London, 1774), I, 202, and Burke, II,* = *Corcye*, II. *Ibid.*, I, 206; 12,* = *Chauncy*, *Chaunceus*. BROMPTON'S: *Chronicle of John Brompton*, *Hist. Ang. Scrip.*, ed. Twysden, Londini, 1651, 963; Fuller, I, 250; Burke, 8. SCRIVEN'S: Stow, *Annals*, 107, and Fuller, I, 247, = *Chaucer*. FOX'S: Fox, *Acts and Mon.*, I, 166; Fuller, I, 249.

⁵Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 250, note 3. Mr. Kirk (p. vii) believes them to have come over from France, perhaps in the reign of Henry III., and probably with wines, since they traded as vintners.

Benedict, Elias, Franceys, Gerard, and Nicholas), while Stephen, Henry, John, and Philip are French as well as English.⁶ Mr. Snell (p. 123) sees a further proof of French origin in the connection of Robert, John, and Geoffrey with the Court, which was French, as opposed to the country in general, which was English. See also John le Chaucers of Abbeville (p. 21), Robert le Chaucier and others (p. 7). We can hardly endorse the statement in the *North British Review* (X, 299) that the poet's prominent features and aquiline nose are evidence of Norman origin. Indeed the poet's portrait seems to have been a veritable Prince Ali's mirror for many scholars in search of an argument wherewith to support their theories (for further mention of the French origin see p. 125).

There are several Chaucers to whom no place of residence is assigned. The first of these is Chonel le Chaucer. The *Privy Seal File*, Edw. II., No. 6566, contains a petition of the Merchants of the Society of the Bardi of Florence for the payment of certain sums of money, notices of the payment of which exist in a *Privy Seal Writ*, No. 6565, dated July 1, 16 Edw. II., 1323. A Chonel le Chaucer⁷ is mentioned therein thrice as receiving money on the King's behalf. Thus: "*C'est la dette qe nostre Seigneur le Roi devoit a la Compaignie de Barde au temps les custumes furent grauntez * * **. Item. *a Chonel le Chaucer par lettre de son [the King] prive seal, l'an XII, XXIII, li., &c.*"

Mr. Stevenson suggested that this Chonel was but another method of spelling John, and cited examples of similar cases of orthography. He believed him to be the John le Chaucer who is named in the *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 30 Edw. I., p. 83, but this is impossible, since this latter person died in 1302 (p. 23). Mr. Harrison opposed the suggestion, and claimed that Chonel was but the palatalized form of the common Gaelic name Connel, or Connal. Even if we do not accept this explanation, it is by no means certain that Chonel stands for John. It is at least certain that this "John" was not the

⁶ Kirk, p. vii, note 6.

⁷ *Ath.*, 1899: W. H. Stevenson, Mar. 4, 274; Apr. 8, 435; H. Harrison, Mar. 18, 338.

poet's father, for the latter was in 1323 but ten years old (p. 57).

Agnes Chaucer was one of the *domicellae* at Henry IV.'s coronation, 1399, along with a Joan Swynford, who may have been of Sir Hugh Swynford's family.⁸ Her name would indicate that she was of Geoffrey's family, his mother and his grandfather's sister having been named Agnes,⁹ and it has been suggested that both she and Elizabeth Chaucer were the poet's daughters.¹⁰ Agnes was, however, by no means an unusual Christian name at that time.

Chaucers have been found in Warwick, Lincoln, and Buckinghamshire. On July 16, 1273, the sheriff of Warwick was ordered to release John le Chaucer and others, who had been imprisoned on the charge of having been able to arrest certain felons had they wished to do so.¹¹ William Franceys le Chaucer was witness to a deed at Lincoln in the time of Edw. I. (1272-1307).¹² Martin Chaucer was one of the witnesses to a grant from Robert atte Welle of Denham, near Uxbridge, in Buckinghamshire, to James Andrew, citizen of London, of lands, tenements, &c., in Denham, dated the Wednesday after the Feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady (Mar. 25), 32 Edw. III. (1358).¹³

The Chaucers of the Eastern counties appear first in the person of Gerard le Chaucer of Colchester, 1269, who is mentioned by Mr. Hall,¹⁴ though without the citation of any authority. Perhaps 1269 is but a transposed form of 1296, for in that year Gerard le Chaucer was a Burgess of Colchester.¹⁵ If such

⁸ Sir Hugh de Swynford married the sister of Chaucer's wife.

⁹ Redstone, *op. cit.*, 190.

¹⁰ H. R. Haweis, *Belgraviana*, XLVIII, 42; A. Hall, *N. & Q.*, 7 S., XII, 338. Unless otherwise specified the term "family" is used in a general sense, and includes all those related to each other.

¹¹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1 Edw. I., m. 6; Ryley, *Placita*, 432 (new). Appendix, p. 144.

¹² *Addit. Charters*, 19990; Kirk, p. vii, note 6.

¹³ *Harl. Charters*, 86, F. 41; *Ath.*, Oct. 7, 1876, 466.

¹⁴ *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211.

¹⁵ *Rot. Parl.*, I, 234; Nicolas, 120; *Acad.*, XIX, 79; Kirk, p. vii; *Norman People*, 195 (1295). In *Acad.*, XXII, 30, it is suggested that Gerard may have been the father of Robert Chaucer, *i. e.*, the poet's great grandfather, but this will be shown to be impossible.

be the case, then the Chaucers of Norwich antedate those of Colchester. Gerard was taxed 5s. upon "*calciam et capuc*", which might stand for "shoes and caps", and thus show him to have been a "Chaucer" indeed.

Galfridus de Chaucere was a witness to a grant of land to Hatfield Broad Oak Priory, co. Essex, about A. D. 1300.¹⁶ This is presumably the person mentioned in Mr. Rye's reference to Geoffrey Chaucere and Thomas, his son, as witnesses to deeds in Essex.¹⁷ The name Geoffrey also occurs with similar surnames, some of which may have been identical with "Chaucer", but none of which can refer to the poet.¹⁸

In the taxation of 6 Edw. II., 1312-13, in the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Hertford, and Essex, Bartholomew le Chaucer's goods were valued at ten shillings, but it does not appear in which of these counties he resided.¹⁹ Skeat says that he seems to have lived near Colchester, co. Essex, but gives no further proof than the reference to *Rot. Parl.* already noticed.

In Norfolk, for which Mr. Rye has put forward claims as the birth-place of the poet, there was a little group of Chaucers, all of Norwich, and not unlikely all of the same family. Benedict le Chaucer was a rioter at Norwich in 1272.²⁰ During the riots which took place there in consequence of the quarrels between the citizens and the monks, the cathedral belfry, with a good part of the church, was destroyed by fire, Aug. 11, 1272. The monks demanded 4000 *m.* damages, and the citizens

¹⁶ Skeat, V, 490.

¹⁷ *Addit. Charters*, Nos. 28, 498-500 (Edw. I.); *N. & Q.*, 8 S., XII, 449. Cf. also E. G. Atkinson, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211.

¹⁸ Mr. Kirk (p. vii, note 6) has collected several Geoffreys of similar surnames, which have not been included, since there appears to be no connection between them and the poet's name. The list could easily be enlarged; see, for instance, *Cal. of Documents*, Ireland, 1171-1251, or *Cal. State Papers, Book of Howth*, p. 411.

¹⁹ *Rot. Parl.*, I, 448; Nicolas, 120; Skeat, I, p. ix. Nicolas wrongly gives the page in *Rot. Parl.* as 449. *Norman People* (195) also has 449, and suggests that he was probably related to Geoffrey Chaucer.

²⁰ W. Rye, *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, Norwich, 1883, "last part", 30; II, 17-89; *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 166; A. Hall, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211; Kirk, p. vi.

offered 2000 *m.* Finally, the bishop and the prior on the one side, and Henry le Chaucer and three other citizens of Norwich on the other, decided to lay the matter before the King as a final arbitrator, who rendered judgment, Oct. 5, 1275.²¹ Walter le Chaucer of Norwich was a juror on an inquisition *ad quod damnum* as to the Friars Minors in 1292.²² The discovery of Robert Chaucer's father in Suffolk has added interest to these Chaucers of the Eastern counties, and it is not unlikely that other discoveries will be made concerning them.

Among the London Chaucers there are several whose place of residence is not given. The first in point of time is a Ralph le Chaucer, whose name is mentioned by Thynne as occurring in the "*Dorso clause of 10: H. 3*" (1226). "*Reginaldus mirifirs et alicia uxor eius attornaverunt Radulfum le Chausier contra Johannem Le furber et matildem uxorem eius de uno messuagio in London*".²³ This is the earliest example of the name as a surname in England. Skeat announced the name in 1899 as a discovery, but the credit belongs to Thynne. This Ralph is also said to have lived in the time of King John, 1199-1216.²⁴ Benedict le Chaucer was a merchant of London

²¹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 3 Edw. I., m. 3; Prynn, *Records*, III, 163; F. Norgate, *Ath.*, Nov. 25, 1876, 688; Skeat, I, p. ix; Kirk, p. vii. See note 20.

²² Kirkpatrick, *History of Religious Orders in Norwich*, &c., 109, 113; F. Norgate, *N. & Q.*, 2 S., I, 52; *Ath.*, Nov. 25, 1876, 688; W. Rye, *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 166; A. Hall, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211; Skeat, I, p. ix; Kirk, p. vii.

²³ *Close Rolls in Tower*, II, 153, col. 2 (10 Hen. III., m. 10 d.); Thynne, 14; Nicolas, 120; *Norman People*, 195 (1225); W. Rye, *N. & Q.*, 8 S., XII, 449; 9 S., I, 331; Skeat, *Ath.*, Feb. 4, 1899, 146; A. Hall, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211. The quotation as it appears in the *Close Rolls* is as follows: "Roger Marisc et Alicia uxor eius petentes attornaverunt Ralph le Chaucer contra John le Furber et Matilda uxor eius de uno mesuag cū ptiu in London."

²⁴ Thynne, 14; Speght (1602), (1687); Urry; *Biog. Brit.*, III, 451, note A; J. Bell, I, p. viii, note; C. C. Clarke, 2. Thynne states him to have been living in the time of King John, and Speght and the others, who follow him, merely say that "in the time of King John, likewise there was one named le Chaucer, as appeareth by the Recordes of the Towre".

in 1252.²⁵ Peter Chaucer and Isabella, his wife, daughter and heiress of Isabella, widow of Roger de Lorimer, citizen of London, were mentioned in 1301.²⁶

Philip le Chaucer is named as debtor to Wm. de Leyre, Alderman, in 1308.²⁷ He is named again in 1312,²⁸ and is referred to as "Philip of London" in 1316, and in connection with his wife, Helewysa (Eloise), in 1321,²⁹ when on Dec. 11, they conveyed a tenement in the parish of St. Lawrence, Jewry, in the City of London, next the tenement of John le Botoner, to John de Borham, citizen of London. Dr. Furnivall thought that since this John le Botoner was the father of Juliana, wife of Henry Chaucer (1372) (p. 27), so this Philip might possibly have been the father of Henry. He cannot have been the father of the Henry of 1335, who was the son of Elias, and there is more evidence for regarding the Henry of 1372 and the Henry of 1335 as the same than there is in favor of Dr. Furnivall's suggestion.

John le Chaucers, a merchant of Abbeville, France, with fourteen other merchants of the same town, was given a safe conduct, dated at Westminster, June 6, 1293, and lasting until Assumption, for the purpose of visiting various ports in England in order to identify their wines and goods taken at sea by English sailors.³⁰ In the *Life Records* Mr. Kirk says that

²⁵ *Liberate Roll*, Kirk, p. vi.

²⁶ *Harl. Charters*, 53 H. 2; Nicolas, 120; Kirk, p. vi; A. Hall, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211. Nicolas and Hall have 1300. It was Nov. 20, 1300—Nov. 20, 1301.

²⁷ *Letter-Book B*, xxxviii; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiii; A. Hall, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211. Dr. Furnivall has included the pages of Riley's *Mem.* which refer to the early Chaucers in the *Appendix* to his *Trial Forewords*, pp. ii-iv. Reference other than this will not be made to the quotation.

²⁸ *Letter-Book D*, 68; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiii.

²⁹ *Husting Rolls*, 15 Edw. II.; *Trial Forewords*, 135; Kirk, p. vi. In *Acad.*, V, 147, the date is given as 1322, and it is suggested that the Philips of 1308, 1312, 1316, and 1321 are the same person, against which there seems to be no evidence. See Philip, the supposed son of Geoffrey, in the table on p. 142.

³⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Edw. I., m. 13; Furnivall, *Acad.*, XLIX, 117; E. G. Atkinson, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 210; A. Hall, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 250, note 3; *N. & Q.*, 10 S. IV, p. 6.

the record does not relate to his "wines" as stated in the *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, but to his "goods and merchandise"; in *Notes and Queries*, however, he regards him as a vintner and as probably identical with the John le Chaucer, mention of whom directly follows. The earliest notice of John le Chaucer that is met with occurs in *Letter-Book B*, f. 115, where he is mentioned in 1278 in connection with John de Suffolk, who was associated with Robert le Chaucer in the trespass against the Gascon wine merchants in 1310.³¹ In *Letter-Book B*, 94, mention is made of a John le Chaucer, who, according to Mr. Riley,³² was evidently a man of substance, since he was one of three or four Commoners named as summoned to the Guildhall with the Aldermen in 1298. He is probably the one referred to by Tyrwhitt, Nicolas, and Kirk, as of London in 1298-99.³³

The next mention of John le Chaucer occurs in the *Assize Rolls*,³⁴ from which it appears that one day early in 1302, as John le Chaucer, Benedict le Taverner of the aforesaid John, Henry le Barber, and John the Cook of John le Chaucer were passing through Soperlane in Cordwainerstreet Ward (see map) they met John de Guildeford, Peter Adrian, Henry, brother of the same John, Thomas Godard, and Alexander Betoyné. On account of a rancour between John le Chaucer

³¹ R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, I, 277; Kirk, p. vi; *L. R.*, IV, 140, note 2; *N. & Q.*, 10 S., IV, p. 6. Mr. Kirk gives the reference to Sharpe merely as "279"; he evidently refers to the will of John de Suffolk, which is at I, 277; *Husting Rolls*, 46, No. 163. See p. 130.

³² *Mem.*, p. xxxiii.

³³ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, III, 326; Nicolas, 120 (1299); Kirk, p. vi; Tyrwhitt, I, p. xxix (a) (1299). Nicolas and Kirk give as reference *Pat. Rolls*, 30 Edw. I., but this refers to John Chaucer of 1302. See note 34. Mr. Hall (*Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211) thinks that he may have been the same as the John le Chaucers of Abbeville.

³⁴ For an account of this and the following proceedings see *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 30 Edw. I., m. 24 d.; *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (Camden Soc.), p. 249, f. 61; *Husting Rolls*; Thynne, 13 (1301); Speght (1602), (1687); Ashmole, 471; *Biog. Brit.*, III, 451, note A; J. Bell, I, p. viii, note; C. C. Clarke, 2; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxv; E. G. Atkinson, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, p. 210; Kirk, p. vi; *N. & Q.*, 10 S., IV, 5; *Assize Rolls*, No. 547, m. 23, 36, 37 (14 Edw. II.); *Rolls of Gaol Delivery for London*, m. 67; 33 Edw. I., 1305, no. 39, m. 15.

and John de Guildeford they immediately drew their swords and fell to fighting, much after the fashion of the Montagues and Capulets of Verona, with the result that John le Chaucer was so grievously beaten and wounded by his adversaries³⁵ that three months later he died therefrom in his own house in the Ward of the Vintry. The encounter took place near the house of John Heyroun (p. 83), as he was said to be one of the "neighbors" to the fight. At the same time and place Benedict le Taverner, aided by John the Cook of John le Chaucer, struck Thomas Godard upon the head with a sword so that he died within six days. John de Guildeford and Peter Adrian fled, but were captured and taken to the prison of Newgate.

Before his death John le Chaucer obtained a Commission of oyer and terminer, dated April 26, 1302, to the Mayor and two others to try his plaint to the king, alleging that John de Guildeford, Henry his brother, Peter Adrian, and six others assaulted him with force and arms, and beat and wounded him so that his life was despaired of, "to his damage of 1000 l.". The king was then at Devizes, and the order for the issue of the Commission was brought to the Lord Chancellor by the Earl of Lincoln. The commission states that the king was "not willing to leave so great a trespass unpunished, if perpetrated", and accordingly we find that the trial began at the Gaol of London, Tuesday before St. Dunstan's day (May 19), and then adjourned to Leaden Hall.³⁶

³⁵ These are said to be, "John de Guildeford, Henry brother of the same John, John the Cook of the same John", &c. Mr. Kirk thinks that this latter is the cook of John le Chaucer mentioned above, who for some reason turned against his master. Is he not rather the cook of John de Guildeford, who happened to be omitted from the list of people whom John le Chaucer and his party met (we know that some were not mentioned in the *Assize Rolls*, cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, *supra*)? The wording of the record certainly implies that this is the true interpretation; it would be unnatural for the cook to turn against his own master; and finally it is testified that the cook of Chaucer did not turn against his master, but fought for him, aiding in the killing of Thomas Godard.

³⁶ *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (Camden Soc.), 249, f. 61; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxv, note 2. Mr. Kirk appears to be unaware of the memorandum in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* and says that no record of the trial exists and that Guildeford may have been acquitted. See Appendix, p. 145.

Although John seems to have gained the verdict, there appears to have been some protest on the part of the defendants, and John le Chaucer probably died before the affair was settled, for the *Rolls of Gaol Delivery for London* show that Henry and Alexander were indicted for the murder, but were subsequently acquitted before Ralph de Sandwich and others. Since Ralph ceased to be justice in 1307, their acquittal must have taken place before that year. Furthermore the *Rolls of Gaol Delivery for London* state that John de Guildeford was also indicted for being concerned in the murder of John le Chaucer and Thomas Godard in Soperlane and acquitted. He is mentioned as one of several, among them a Simon Godard, who were concerned in proving the standard weights in 1307, and in 1307-8, he (here described as a pepperer) was killed by certain persons in Soperlane, about twilight, near the house of John Heyroun (see p. 23). As he was a bastard and died intestate, his tenement in Soperlane, which had belonged to Agnes, his wife, as well as his other lands, came to the king as an escheat.⁸⁷ In Mr. Kirk's abstract of the *Assize Rolls* it is said that Agnes was dead at the time of these events, but the *Close Rolls* just cited show that after John's possessions had come into the hands of the king she claimed as her free-bench, according to the custom of the city, the messuage in London wherein she and her husband had dwelt, and the king, on Jan. 26, 1310, ordered it to be delivered to her if her claim was found to be correct.

Benedict le Taverner also fled and was put in exigent, but did not appear and was therefore outlawed. He was described in the *Roll* as having no chattels and as not being in the Ward because he was a stranger (*extraneus*). Since he is stated to have been a foreigner, there is but little doubt that his master was also of foreign extraction, and that he was the John le Chaucers of Abbeville already referred to. The John of the trial was evidently regarded as a citizen of London, but that does not prove that he was an Englishman born, for there is a special order in Riley's *Liber Albus* (I, 287), that "foreign

⁸⁷ *Assize Rolls*, No. 547, m. 37; Kirk, *N. & Q.*, 10 S., IV, 5; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 3 Edw. II., m. 13 (new). See Appendix, p. 145.

merchants of respectability should enjoy the franchise of the City"; see also, "par le pourjas l'awauntedit Jon le Janser encontre le franchise de la cité, ke allege fut des Audermans", which was said in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* of the attack made upon John. Furthermore, Englishmen were frequently included among the foreign merchants. John Stow in his *Survey*, p. 240 (1890), writes as follows: "The Vintners in London were of old time called Merchant-vintners of Gascoyne; and so I read them in the records of Edward II., the 11th year, and Edward III., the 9th year: they were as well Englishmen as strangers born beyond the seas, but then subjects to the Kings of England, great Burdeaux merchants of Gascoyne and French wines, divers of them were mayors of this city, namely John Adrian, vintner, Reginold at conduit, John Oxenford, Hen. Picard, that feasted the Kings of England, France, Scotland and Cypres, John Stodie, that gave Stodies lane to the vintners", &c. (see also *Life Records*, IV, 140).

Mention is made in the Husting Rolls, 1298, of a John le Chaucer (son of John le Chaucer) called "Prest of Smethefeld" and Katherine Lavener his wife; he is apparently the son of the foregoing John.⁸⁸ Tyrwhitt, referring to the John of 1298-99, thought that he might have been the poet's grandfather. In the *Athenaeum*, Dec. 20, 1873, p. 816, it was suggested that he might have been the poet's great grandfather, and Mr. Riley (*Mem.*, p. xxxv), referring to John of 1302, whom he regarded as probably identical with John of 1298, made the same suggestion, both writers being under the impression that Richard was the poet's grandfather. Mr. Kirk in *Notes and Queries*, with the correct view of the poet's parentage, also thinks that he might be Geoffrey's great grandfather. It will later be shown that he was neither the great

⁸⁸ Kirk, p. vi. Mr. Riley (*Mem.*, p. xxxv, note 1) refers to a John le Chaucer, circa 1298, who had a son called Benedict le Taverner (*Rolls of Gaol Delivery*, London, c. 1298; W. Rye, *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, p. 166; *N. & Q.*, 9 S., I, 331). The relation seems to be somewhat doubtful, and I have therefore omitted mention of it in the text; perhaps the reference is to Benedict le Taverner of John le Chaucer referred to above. The *Ath.* misquotes the *Mem.* as "p. xxv".

grandfather of Geoffrey nor the father of Richard.³⁹ Thynne (p. 13) doubted that John Chaucer (1302) was the father of Richard.

Reviewing the various John Chaucers, we see that, laying aside Chonel le Chaucer as an unlocated and undecided quantity, there is first John of Warwick, 1293; then John le Chaucers of Abbeville, 1293, and the Johns of London of 1278, 1298 and 1302, who probably represented but one man; and finally his son John le Chaucer, called "Prest of Smetefeld". None of the persons here mentioned can in any way be identified with the poet's father.

In the *MSS. of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury* there is a document of the year 1326 concerning the pulling down of a house which had encroached upon Bow Churchyard. Terms were come to with a committee of parishioners, among whom was Willelmus le Chaucer, dictus le Taverner.⁴⁰ He was an inhabitant of West Chepe, or, as we have seen, at all events a parishioner of St. Mary-le-Bow in 1326. He was a man of some standing, a member of the Local Government Board of the time, or what was equivalent to it; and in that capacity, he, with his colleagues, executed a "Composition" with the authorities of Christchurch, Canterbury, who held the parish church *in proprios usus*. He is perhaps the same as the William, the son of Elias Chaucer and brother to Henry, who is mentioned in 1332.⁴¹

Thynne cited an Elias le Chaucer, or Chaucesir, who lived in the reign of Henry III. and Edw. I.—*i. e.*, before and after 1272.⁴² There is a writ dated 1 Edw. I., July 24, 1273, to the Treasury to pay him 10s. for arrears of 1½*d.* a day, which sum was granted him for life by Henry III. The name is spelt Chauseryr (chawcer = shoes + suffix of agency). There

³⁹ See pp. 56, 61.

⁴⁰ *Hist. MSS. Reports*, Report viii, 323; E. G. Atkinson, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211; Kirk, p. vi.; *Reg. L.*, 119; *Ath.*, Sept. 30, 1876, 435.

⁴¹ *Husting Rolls*; Kirk, p. vii.

⁴² *Pellis Exitus Receit of Exchequer*, 1 Edw. I.; Thynne, 13; Speght (1602), (1687); Urry; Ashmole, 471; *Biog. Brit.*, III, 451, note A; J. Bell, I, p. viii, note; C. C. Clarke, 2; Nicolas, 120.

is mention of Elias le Chaucer of London and Agnes, his wife, in 1301, 1322, 1335.⁴³ Mr. Riley noticed an Elyas le Chaucer of 1307,⁴⁴ and in the list of *Lay Subsidies*, 12 Edw. II. (1318-19), Elias le Chaucer is named as assessed 30s. in the Ward of Cordwanerstrete.⁴⁵ All could refer to the same person, who was the father of William and Henry. He was also witness to an assault, presumably in the Ward of Cordwanerstrete.⁴⁶ Concerning Elias le Chaucer, more usually known as Elias le Chaufecire, see p. 2.

Henry le Chaucer is first heard of in 1335, as the son of Elias of Cordwanerstrete Ward and the brother of William (see p. 26).⁴⁷ In 1350, Henry Chaucer, a man at arms, was among those provided by Cordwanerstrete Ward for the King's service, and was sent to Sandwich in the ship of Andrew Turke.⁴⁸ On June 11, 1371, Henry Chaucer,⁴⁹ vintner, was one of the mainpernors of Alan Grygge, who was accused by Nicholas Mollere of having spread false news in the city. Alan was later acquitted, and Nicholas, having been convicted of a lie, was sent to the pillory for an hour, "to have the whetstone hung from his neck, for such liars, according to the custom of the City, provided".

On June 14, 1372, Henry Chaucer, vintner, and Juliana, his wife, conveyed a part of their garden near the stream Walbrook.⁵⁰ On April 4, 1373, the same parties conveyed the lands of Juliana's late father, John the Buttoner (p. 21), in Soperslane; and on May 20, 1373, there took place a further release

⁴³ *Husting Rolls*; Kirk, p. vi.

⁴⁴ *Letter-Book B*, 84; C, 129; *Mem.*, p. xxxiii.

⁴⁵ *Husting Rolls*; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiii, note 2; R. R. Sharpe, *Ath.*, Mar. 18, 1899, 338; Kirk, p. vi.

⁴⁶ *Assize Rolls*, No. 547, m. 37; Kirk, *N. & Q.*, 10 S., IV, 5.

⁴⁷ *Husting Rolls*; Kirk, p. vii.

⁴⁸ *Letter-Book F*, 187; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiv; Skeat, I, p. ix; Kirk, p. vii.

⁴⁹ *Letter-Book G*, f. cclxxii; Riley, *Mem.*, 353; *Trial Forewords*, p. iii, note 1.

⁵⁰ *Husting Rolls*, 100; *Trial Forewords*, 135; *Ath.*, Jan. 3, 1874, 23; Kirk, p. vii. See the release by Geoffrey of a tenement on Walbrook which had belonged to his father (p. 44).

of the same lands by the same parties.⁵¹ The will of Juliana, relict of Henry le Chaucer, vintner, in 1374, is mentioned in an ancient index to the *Wills of the Archdeaconry of London*, but is not extant.⁵² It at least shows that Henry died in or before 1374.

All these references would seem to refer to the same person, who, since he dwelt in Cordwanerstrete Ward and was a vintner, would furthermore appear to be connected with the family of the poet. Others have recognized this, and various guesses have been made. In the *Athenaeum*, Jan. 3, 1874, 23, it is intimated that he may have been a brother or cousin of the poet. Mr. Rye (*Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 166; *L. R.*, III, 130) suggested that Henry and Nicholas Chaucer were perhaps named after Henry and Nicholas Stace, and might have been brothers of the poet.⁵³ Professor Hales (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*) thought that he might have been a first cousin to Geoffrey. If we regard Henry as the brother of Geoffrey, then he must be a different person from the Henry of 1335 who was the son of Elias, and until evidence to the contrary is produced, it is natural to regard the two Henrys as identical. If he were Geoffrey's first cousin, then Elias and John were brothers, both being sons of Robert, but Elias was probably of full age in 1272, or at any rate was married before 1301, while John was not born until 1313. Again, Robert died in or before 1315, and since John was born in 1313, Robert could not have been a very old man at his death. John is also the only known heir (p. 47). The suitability of the dates favors the view that Elias and Robert were brothers, and accordingly John and Henry were first cousins.

Stephen le Chaucer was surety for Wm. de Clay in 1381;⁵⁴ a resident in Bradestrete Ward, London, in 1298;⁵⁵ and was

⁵¹ *Husting Rolls*, 101; *Trial Forewords*, 135-6; Kirk, p. vii.

⁵² Kirk, p. vii, note 4.

⁵³ Repeated in part by H. R. Haweis, *Belgravia*, XLVIII, 39; Morley, V, 89. For relation to the other Staces cf. p. 62; for Nicholas see p. 29.

⁵⁴ *Letter-Book B*, 1; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiii.

⁵⁵ *Letter-Book B*, xxxvii; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiii. Broadstreet Ward was one of those on the east side of Walbrook (cf. Stow, *Survey*, 66).

named in a deed of 1302, in the *MSS. of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's*.⁵⁶ See Stephen de Blakeney, the poet's first cousin (p. 62). Mr. Hall mentioned a Baldwin le Chaucer as of London in 1301;⁵⁷ and in 1302 the name occurred in a record under the heading "Butellere", where he was assessed 10s. toward the royal expenses.⁵⁸ Baldwin le Chaucer acknowledged a debt in 1303;⁵⁹ dwelt in Cordwanerstrete in 1307;⁶⁰ and was mentioned again in 1311-12.⁶¹ There seems to me a probability that, were the records examined more closely, evidence would be found showing that Baldwin was of the same family as Robert, Richard, and John. Like them he dwelt in Cordwanerstrete Ward, appears to have been well-to-do, and was a Butler,—it should be remembered that Robert was a collector of customs on wines; that Richard, John, and Geoffrey were deputies to the King's Butler; and that Thomas was Chief Butler. The office seems to have been almost hereditary in the Chaucer family (see p. 140). Mr. Rye (*N. & Q.*, 9 S., I, 331) thought it likely that he was the father of Robert and Richard, or at least of kin to them. It will later be shown that Robert and Richard were not brothers and that neither of them had Baldwin for his father.

The first notice of Nicholas Chaucer is in the *Wardrobe Accounts*, 22 Edw. III., ~~39~~⁴¹ (1348-49), in which are recorded three payments to him for cotton, canvas, and wax, bought of him at London.⁶² He was mentioned as a grocer in 1351,⁶³ and as a resident in Cordwanerstrete in 1356.⁶⁴ In July, 1353, he and Juliana, his wife, "citizens of London", were granted a

⁵⁶ E. G. Atkinson, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 210.

⁵⁷ *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 211. This may refer to the following record.

⁵⁸ *Addit. Charters*, 30 Edw. I.; E. J. L. Scott, *Ath.*, Dec. 25, 1880, 866; Jan. 8, 1881, 57; Furnivall, *Ath.*, Jan. 1, 1881, 21.

⁵⁹ *Letter-Book B*, 55, 60; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiii.

⁶⁰ *Letter-Book B*, 81, 83, 84; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiii; *Acad.*, XIX, 79; R. R. Sharpe, *Ath.*, Mar. 18, 1899, 338; Skeat, I, p. ix.

⁶¹ *Letter-Book B*, 112, xix; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiii.

⁶² Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 169, note 2.

⁶³ *Letter-Book F*, 206; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiv.

⁶⁴ *Letter-Book G*, 46; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiv; *Acad.*, XIX, 79; Skeat, I, p. ix.

Papal indult allowing them "to choose confessors, who shall give them, being penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death, with the usual safeguards".⁶⁵ On June 8, 1356, he was summoned among 170 merchants of England to attend before the King and Council for the purpose of consulting on "certain arduous affairs". Andrew Aubrey, John de Stodeye, and Edmund de Staplegate of Canterbury were among those present.⁶⁶ He dwelt in Soperlane, and was in 1365⁶⁷ Warden of the trade of Grocers, Pepperers, and Apothecaries.

His will was dated Jan. 13, 1369, and enrolled in the early part of the following February.⁶⁸ In this he is described as a citizen and pepperer. He desired to be buried in the church of St. Antonin. He left bequests to the fabric of the said church, to the parish chaplain and other chaplains for masses, to the magistral clerk and the under clerk of the church; his term in houses and tenements to Matilda, his (second?) wife, and to Sir William Dalton, and money to Isabella, his sister, and to Margaret, his kinswoman. From his will we should, therefore, judge that he was prosperous.

All of the early Chaucers having been described, the question now arises: Were any of them identical with the Malyns who dropped the name Malyn and assumed that of Chaucer upon their change of residence from Ipswich to London? Malyns have been found bearing the names of William, Henry, Elias, John, and Nicholas, which names we have also met among the Chaucers of the present chapter. (Robert, Richard, and Simon Malyn will be discussed elsewhere). Mr. Redstone (p. 187) implies that Henry and Nicholas, and perhaps others were identical. An examination of the facts which have just been

⁶⁵ *Cal. Papal Registers, Letters*, III, 495 (new). Quoted practically entire in the text.

⁶⁶ *Close Rolls*, 30 Edw. III., m. 14 d.; printed in *Rot. Parl.* II, 456; Nicolas, 120; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 169, note 2; for Andrew Aubrey and John de Stodeye see pp. 135-6; for Staplegate see Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 207.

⁶⁷ *Letter-Book G*, 173; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiv. Soper-lane was the ancient dwelling of the Pepperers; cf. Stow, *Survey*, I, 537 (1704). See map.

⁶⁸ *Husting Rolls*, 97, No. 6; R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, pt. II, 124; *Trial Forewords*, 135; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 169.

given concerning the Chaucers does not, however, fully support his implication. John Malyn was not the same as the John le Chaucers of Abbeville and London, or John, the son of John le Chaucer. Nor could William and Henry Chaucer, although the one was a taverner and the other a vintner, be identical with the William le Taverner and the Henry Malyn who are mentioned by Mr. Redstone, since both of the Chaucers were the sons of Elias, while the Malyns had as their father Robert le Taverner, *alias* Malyn. Elias Malyn could scarcely be the same as Elias Chaucer, for the latter received a grant from the King as far back as 1273, while the former in 1346 received a pardon from the King for service in his wars.

The most probable case of identity is that of Nicholas. Mr. Redstone thinks that he may have been the son of the aforesaid Robert le Taverner, great great grandfather of the poet. But I should prefer to bring him nearer to Geoffrey's own time—his death in 1369 would scarcely fit the position assigned him by Mr. Redstone. The mention in his will of Isabella, his sister, and Margaret, his kinswoman, supports the view that he was a Malyn and seems to indicate that he was a son of Robert Malyn, *alias* le Chaucer, and therefore Geoffrey's uncle (see table on p. 142). "Isabella, his sister" would then be Isabella Malyn, John's sister, who married Thos. de Blakeney of London, and "Margaret, his kinswoman", would be identified with Margaret Malyn, the daughter of William Malyn and thus Nicholas's second cousin.

Mr. Rye (*Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 166) suggested that Nicholas might be Geoffrey's brother; this, however, is improbable, since in 1349 Nicholas is selling cotton, canvas, and wax, at which time John Chaucer was but thirty-six years old (p. 57). Mr. Kirk (p. xii) says that he was probably a relative of John Chaucer. No definite conclusion can be reached, but the suggestion made in the preceding paragraph is probably correct. There are also several minor points which may be noticed. His time of living agrees with the conjecture; he was a pepperer, with whom the Chaucers appear to have been in touch (pp. 68, 75, 81, 88, 136); he was a resident of Cordwanerstrete, and

once at least was associated with Andrew Aubrey and John de Stodeye.⁶⁹

I have arranged the Chaucers in the following list with a view of giving at a glance what must be confusing when taken detail by detail. The list also tends to bring out clearer the continuity of the early Chaucers with those of Geoffrey's family. It is interesting to notice the gradual increase in wealth and Court favour of the later Chaucers, and that as the Court favour increased the connection with the wine trade lessened. The almost hereditary connection with the customs can also be clearly perceived. It is scarcely necessary to add the warning not to regard the statements of the list as complete in all details; lack of space excluded explanation.

⁶⁹ Our claim of completeness would perhaps remain unimpaired even were we to omit all mention of "Daniel" Chaucer. W. Clark Russell, in his novel, *What Cheer?* (p. 121), referring to the poet, says, "Into this Cathedral, headed by cheerful, hearty Daniel Chaucer, enter the Canterbury Pilgrims". For sources of the error cf. "Dan Chaucer" in Tennyson's *Dream of Fair Women*, and elsewhere; cf. Chaucer's frequent use of the word in the *House of Fame* (199, 591, 916, 1228, 1483, 1499, 1509, 175, 434, 137, 1623). E. E. Morris, *N. & Q.*, 9 S., III, 304. The many surnames similar to "Chaucer" have not been given since their owners are not known to have been related to the poet, and since it would be impossible to draw the line with regard to them. The varieties of "Chausy" are especially numerous.

Name.	Occupation.	Residence.	Dates.	Remarks.
Chonel	Receives money.		1323	
John	Imprisoned.	Warwick.	1273	
William Franceys	Witness.	Lincoln.	1272-1307	
Martin	Witness.	Buckinghamshire.	1358	
Gerard..	Burgess.	Colchester (Essex).	1269 (?) 1296	Perhaps a chaucer (shoemaker).
Galfridus de.....	Witness.	Essex.	1300	See p. 37.
Thomas de.....	Witness.	Essex.	1300	Son of above.
Bartholomew	Taxed.	Colchester(?)	1312-13	
Benedict.....	Rioter.	Norwich.	1272	
Henry	Arbitrator.	Norwich.	1275	
Walter.....	Juror.	Norwich.	1292-93	
Ralph	Land Transfer.	London.	1199-1216 1226	Earliest in the list. Wife—Matilda.
Benedict.....	Merchant.	London.	1252	
Peter		London.	1301	Wife—Isabella de Lorimer.
Philip.....	Debtor, Land Transfers.	London.	1308 1312 1316 1321	Wife—Eloise.
John	Vintner, Commoner, Assaulted.	Abbeville, London, Ward of Vintry.	1293 1273 1293 1302	Died in 1302; wrongly thought to be Richard's father. First Chaucer to be a Vintner.
John	Prest of Smethefeld.	London.	1298	Son of above. Wife—Katherine Lavener.
William.....	Le Taverner, Member of L. G. B.	West Chepe, St. Mary-le-Bow, London (Cordwaner-strete Ward).	1326 1332	Son of Elias and brother to Henry (?).

Name.	Occupation.	Residence.	Dates.	Remarks.
Elias	Grant of King, Witness, Taxed.	Cordwaner-strete Ward, London.	+1272 1273 1301 1322 1335 1307 1318-9	Father of William and Henry. Wife—Agnes. First to be connected with the Court.
Henry	Man-at-arms, Vintner, Land Transfer.	Cordwaner-strete Ward, London.	1335 1350 1371 1372-3	Dead by 1374; son of Elias. Wife—Juliana le Botoner. Perhaps John's first cousin.
Stephen.....	Surety, Resident, In Deed.	Bradestrete Ward, London.	1281 1298 1302	
Baldwin	Butler, Debtor, Resident.	Cordwaner-strete, London.	1301 1302 1303 1307 1311-2	Perhaps related to poet's family; first Chaucer in the Customs; well-to-do.
Nicholas	Merchant, Resident, Grocer, Indult, Warden, Pepperer, Will.	Cordwaner-strete, Soperlane, London.	1348-9 1351 1353 1356 1365	Died in 1369. Wives—Juliana, Matilda. Perhaps of the poet's family; prosperous.
Robert.....	Collector of Customs on Wines, etc. Vintner (?).	Ipswich, London.	1307-1310	Died before 1315. Wife—Maria Heyroun. Grandfather of Geoffrey.
Agnes.....	Abductor of John Chaucer. Children—Sibilla and Joan de Westhale.	Ipswich.	1324-1330	Married Walter de Westhale; second husband, Geoffrey Stace; sister of Robert.
Isabella.	Married Thos. de Blakeney, citizen of London. Children—Stephen, Joan, Christine.	London.	1328	Daughter of Robert.
Richard.....	Vintner, Collector of Customs on Wines, etc.	Cordwaner-strete Ward, Vintry Ward, London (Ipswich).	1319-1349	Died in 1349. Wife—Maria Heyroun. Step-grandfather of Geoffrey; prosperous.
Simon.....		Cordwaner-strete Ward, London.	1336	Killed in a quarrel; brother of Richard.

Name.	Occupation.	Residence.	Dates.	Remarks.
John	Collector of Customs on Wines, etc., Vintner, Accompanied the King.	Cordwanerstrete Ward, Vintry Ward, London (Ipswich).	1313-1366	Dead by 1367. Wife—Agnes. Father of Geoffrey; wealthy.
Geoffrey	Collector of Customs on Wines, etc. Closely connected with Court.	Vintry Ward, Aldgate, Westminster, London.	1340c. -1400	Died in 1400. Wife—Philippa Roet. The poet; wealthy.
Thomas	Chief Butler. Closely connected with Court.	London. Oxfordshire.	1365- 1434	Died in 1434. Wife—Matilda Burgersh; son of Geoffrey; very wealthy.
Lewis			1380	Born in 1380; son of Geoffrey.
Agnes	Domicella at Henry IV.'s Coronation.	London.	1399	Supposed daughter of Geoffrey.
Elizabeth	(Chaucy) Domicella to Queen Philippa. Novitiate in Abbey of Berking paid by Jno. of Gaunt.	London. Essex.	1377 1381	Nun at Convent of St. Helen, London; supposed daughter of Geoffrey; some say sister. Perhaps two persons.

Perhaps it is not without significance for the etymology of the name Chaucer that in each case save two (John, Stephen) in which the residence of a London Chaucer is given, it is in Cordwanerstrete Ward, sometimes on Cordwanerstrete itself. When it is remembered that there were twenty-six wards in London,⁷⁰ this showing becomes at least noteworthy, and lends support both to the view that we are here concerned for the most part with one family⁷¹ who were kinspeople of Chaucer, and to the derivation of the poet's name from *chaucier*.

The facts noted in connection with these Chaucers are not such as to cause the poet any hesitation before accepting them as his ancestors. Concerning those residing out of London

⁷⁰ Stow, *Survey*, 46.

⁷¹ Kirk (p. vi), referring to the early Chaucers, says that they all probably belonged to two or three families at the most.

there is not much to be said; they represent a fairly wide range both of residence and occupation, the latter being always respectable and several times honorable. The mention of the imprisonment of John of Warwick and the rioting of Benedict of Norwich does not imply that they were by any means disreputable characters.

In the case of the London Chaucers the showing is even better,—in nearly every instance in which facts concerning them are given, the facts are favorable, and they appear to have been well-to-do and prominent members of the communities in which they lived. The name occurs three times in connection with the transfer of real estate; John was a Commoner of some importance; William, a member of the Local Government Board; Elias received a grant from the King; Baldwin was a "Buttelere"; and Nicholas, the Warden of the Grocers, &c.

It is worthy of notice that there is no one of the Chaucers mentioned in the preceding pages the dates of whose life would allow him to be a brother of the poet, unless it be Henry, for whom see p. 28. It has been inferred from Geoffrey's release of his father's house in the Vintry that he was the sole heir of John, and this list supports the inference.⁷²

Several speculations have been indulged in as to how the poet and his children obtained their Christian names. Professor Kittredge offered as a possible source for the name Lewis, Sir Lewis Clifford, a friend of the poet and a prominent figure in the English and French courts of Chaucer's day.⁷³ As for the once doubted Thomas,⁷⁴ why might not he be the namesake of Sir Thomas Clanvowe, for whom see Kittredge's article just cited. For those who may not incline to this view there are several other possibilities: Thomas de Blakeney, a citizen of London, married Geoffrey's aunt Isabella (p. 62); Thomas Stace of Ipswich, one of the abductors of John Chaucer, was the brother of Geoffrey Stace, who also figured prominently in the abduction trial, and married Robert's sister Agnes; and there is also Thomas Chaucere of Essex (p. 19) who was the

⁷² Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 232.

⁷³ *Modern Philology*, I, 18, note 1.

⁷⁴ Skeat, *Ath.*, Jan. 27, 1900, p. 116.

son of a Geoffrey Chaucere. Mr. Rye⁷⁵ thinks it not improbable that Geoffrey may have been named after the Geoffrey Stace just mentioned (for the relation between the Staces and the Chaucers see p. 62), or else for Geoffrey le Suter of Lynn, 1324, while Mr. Redstone (p. 192) definitely states that John "named his son, the poet, in honour of his own uncle Geoffrey Stace, and in return the grandson of Agnes Stace was called John after him". Galfridus de Chaucere of Essex (p. 19) might also be named as a possible candidate for namesake honors. It should be remembered that Geoffrey was not an uncommon name at that period, as a glance at the indices of the Rolls series will plainly show.

The first notice of the connection of the Chaucers with the Court relates to Elias le Chaucer in 1273; their connection with the wine trade first appears in John le Chaucer of Abbeville, 1293, and Baldwin, 1301-12, appears to have been the earliest Chaucer in the Customs. According to Stow,⁷⁶ the vintners were of importance in the London of the fourteenth century; they imported the wine from France and other countries, and the Taverners, who kept the taverns for them, sold it. See also William, dictus Le Taverner, Henry, vintner, and Benedict le Taverner of John le Chaucer (p. 22). The Malyns were taverners as early as 1260 and even earlier than that.

⁷⁵ *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 167; *Acad.*, XXIX, 77; *L. R.*, III, 130; H. R. Haweis, *Belgravia*, XLVIII, 39. See p. 112, note 78.

⁷⁶ *Survey*, 89 ff.; II, 281 (1704). See quotation on p. 25.

III.

THE PARENTAGE OF CHAUCER.

Statements concerning the parents and grandparents of Chaucer were at first confined either to vague generalisations upon the social position of his family, or to guesses as to his probable immediate ancestors. Our knowledge in this direction has progressed until we have a fairly complete record of his ancestry, especially upon the paternal side. To treat each of his forebears separately would be impossible without constant repetition; hence I have adopted the plan of first discussing the records by which the parentage of Chaucer is proved, and of then treating each person in turn. These records form the base upon which the remaining records rest, and the discussion of them at the beginning serves to plunge us at once *in medias res*.

The majority of early writers preferred to take the safer ground of general remarks concerning the poet's family, without attempting to fix upon a definite person as his father. Thus, Leland (p. 419) and Bale (p. 525) merely said of Chaucer that he was born of a noble family, "*nobili loco natus et summae spei juvenis*". Pits (p. 572) and Ashmole (p. 471) believed him to have been the son of a knight;¹ while Hearne

¹ Cf. R. Pauli, *Pictures of Old England*, London, 1861, p. 216; D. L. Purves, *Canterbury Tales, &c.*, Edinburg, 1874, p. 4. *Biog. Brit.* (III, 451, note A) calls John, Sir John, but does not think that he was the poet's father. The instances in which the various views have been mentioned, but not adopted, have not always been referred to, since they are often given without comment, or else used merely to preface the writer's own view.

(*Works*, London, 1810, II, 596)² conjectured that his father, though wealthy, was probably only a merchant, and that there was no evidence as to Chaucer's noble birth save that of the *Battle Abbey Roll* (p. 15).

Some dismiss the subject with the remark that his parentage is practically unknown.³ Others, arguing from his family arms, his position at Court, &c., believe him to have been of noble blood,⁴ while G. L. Smyth,⁵ on the other hand, sees in his arms no signs of nobility, and hence concludes that he was probably the son of a London tradesman. The most common statement is that the family, though not noble, was gentlemanly, and also prosperous, as is shown by the education and honors which Geoffrey received.⁶ Nicolas (p. 10) is of this

² Cf. M. P. Case, *Bib. Sac.*, XI, 395; *Encyl. Americana*, Boston, 1858, III, 119. Godwin (II, 105) called him the son of a merchant, but referred to a merchant of the Vintry, *i. e.*, vintner. Cf. I, 19; T. Arnold, *Manual of English Literature*, Boston, 1882, p. 26. *Grand Dict. Univ.*, Paris, 1866, ed. Larousse (III, 1093), made him either the son of a merchant or of a noble family. In citations of the views of others as to Chaucer's parentage, which occur not infrequently (cf. Nicolas, 119; R. Bell, I, 11; C. C. Clarke, *Tales*, 1; Morley, V, 85; &c.), Hearne is always cited as the authority for the statement that Chaucer's father was a merchant, but it will be shown later that the suggestion was made by Speght (p. 41). In the 1602 ed. Speght inserted the clause, "as some will have it", after the word "Merchants".

³ Nicolas, *S. & G. Roll*, II, 404; G. G. Cunningham, *Lives of Eminent Englishmen*, Glasgow, 1836, I, 465; *Ath.*, 1844, 125; J. Angus, *Handbook of English Literature*, London, 1871, p. 110; *Nouvelle Biographie*, Paris, 1862, X, 117; T. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 26; M. Rutherford, *English Authors*, Atlanta, 1890, p. 21.

⁴ G. Gilfillan, p. vi; E. Engel, 57; R. Pauli, *op. cit.*, 216; *Retrospective Review*, IX, 182; *N. & Q.*, 5 S., I, 50; S. H. Carpenter, *Chaucer's Prologue and Knightes Tale*, Boston, 1901, p. ix; *Norman People*, 195.

⁵ *West. Abbey*, 10; *Mon. St. Paul's and West. Abbey*, 252. S. W. Singer (p. vi) denies that the simplicity of his arms proves the poet to have been of ungente birth.

⁶ Cf. p. 103; note 7; Nicolas, 119; T. B. Shaw, 37; *British Quarterly Review*, III, 105; J. R. Green, *Short Hist. Eng. People*, pt. II, 219; S. W. Singer, p. vi; L. Schmitz, p. cviii; *Westminster Review*, n. s. XXX, 190; *North Brit. Rev.*, X, 300; Deshler, *Selections from Chaucer*, London, 1847, p. 1.

opinion, and believes that in Chaucer's code of gentility, "that he alone is truly noble that acts nobly", can possibly be found the desire to level the artificial distinctions of birth. Sandras (p. 11) repeats the same idea. And still others merely state that he descended not from a great house, nor was of gentle birth.⁷ Mr. Hippisley (*Early English Literature*, London, 1837, p. 86) believed his parentage unknown and probably poor, since according to *The Testament of Love* Chaucer had no income except his state allowance.

Robert Bell, after giving the views of Leland, Speght, Pits, Hearne, and Urry, sums up the general feeling upon the subject in the following well chosen words: "Of his family nothing is known, and it would be idle to repeat the speculations that have been raised upon several persons of his name who lived in the early part of the fourteenth century" (I, 11). "It is certain that he received the education of a gentleman, and it is no less certain that his family were neither noble nor distinguished, although there is sufficient reason to conclude that they were wealthy and respectable" (I, 12).

The first to suggest a definite person as the father of the poet was Thos. Speght, who wrote as follows: "In the Records of the Guild Hall in London we find, that there was one Richard Chaucer Vintener of London in the 23. yeere of Edward the third, who might well be Geffrey Chaucers father". He was probably indebted to the antiquarian John Stow for his information, since Stow in his *Survey* (1603) wrote, "Richard Chawcer,* vintner, gave to that church his tenement and tavern, with the appurtenance, in the Royal street, the corner of Kerion lane, and was there buried 1348". * "Richard Chaucer, father to Geffrey Chaucer, the poet, as may be supposed". He also mentioned that Speght, in his 1597 edition, had used notes on Chaucer which he had given him.⁸

⁷ Tyrwhitt, I, p. xxix, (a); Hertzberg, 22; *Dublin Univ. Mag.*, LIII, 274. Chaucer's code of gentility was of course derived from Boethius (cf. Root, *Poetry of Chaucer*, Boston, 1906, pp. 19, 243).

⁸ Stow, *Survey*, 95, 171; Morley, V, 85. Chalmers (*English Poets*, London, 1810, I, p. iii) said that "Stow unqualifiedly asserts" that Richard was the poet's father, which is quoting Stow incorrectly.

Speght recorded that some Heralds did not believe him to have descended from any great house on account of the nature of his arms: *De argento et rubeo colore partita per longitudinem scuti cum benda extranverso, eisdem coloribus sed transmutatis depicta*. These Speght thought, considering Chaucer's skill in geometry, might have been derived from the 27th and 28th propositions of the first book of Euclid. Concerning the social position of the poet's parentage he said: "Now whether they were Merchants (for that in places where they have dwelled, the Armes of the Merchants of the Staple have been seene in the glasse-windowes), or whether they were of other calling, it is not much necessary to search: but wealthy no doubt they were, and of good account in the common wealth, who brought up their Sonne in such sort, that both he was thought fitte for the Court at home, and to be employed for matters of state in forraine countreyes".⁹

The views of Speght, together with Urry's guess of John Chaucer as the father of the poet, were the basis of most of the statements regarding the poet's parentage, until the discovery of his undoubted father in 1873.¹⁰ Winstanley (*Lives of Most Famous English Poets*, London, 1687, p. 23) repeated Speght (1602) as to the grade of the poet's parentage. Thos. Fuller¹¹ accepted Speght's theory as to Richard Chaucer, but with regard to the arms of the poet he said: "Some more wits have made it the dashing of white and red wine (the parents of our modern claret) as nicking his father's profession"—a jest which has been often repeated, but whose only endorsers, so

⁹ Cf. S. A. Dunham, *Lives of Literary and Scientific Men*, London, 1836, I, 125.

¹⁰ See preceding remarks as to the poet's parentage. That Richard was the poet's father was stated by Godwin, I, 20; II, 105; Riley, *Mem.*, pp. xxxiv-v; R. Morris, *Prol.*, p. v; J. N. Smith, *Antiquarian Rambles in Streets of London*, London, 1846, II, 301. Morley (II, pt. I, 142-3, 1867; *Eng. Lit.*, 108) stated that Geoffrey was the son of Richard and had John Chaucer as his elder brother. The mistake was repeated in later years by D. Wise, *Men of Renown*, N. Y., 1886, p. 269; *Acad.*, VIII, 247; J. M. D. Morell, *English Literature*, London, 1893, p. 38 (*Acad.*, XVIII, 190).

¹¹ *Church History of Britain*, London, 1842, I, 468.

far as I can discover, have been Morley¹² and the writer in *Chambers' Cycl. Eng. Lit.* (1883), I, 12, note. The discovery of John's seal renders Fuller's little joke beside the mark (p. 97). Mr. Riley (*Mem.*, pp. xxxiv-v) stated that the poet was the son of Richard Chaucer, either by the widow Heyroun or by some other wife. He reached this conclusion without any reference to Speght, but upon an examination of the name Chaucer in the early *Letter-Books*, aided, perhaps, by Stow's remark in his *Survey*, 95.

Thynne (pp. 13, 15, 17, 18) took exception to each of Speght's statements, merely noting, first, that he could no more believe Richard to be Geoffrey's father than that John Chaucer of London (1302) was the father of Richard; and again, that "as honorable howses and of as greate Antiquytye have borne as meane armes as Chaucer, and yet Chaucers armes are not so meane eyther for coolor, chardge or particione as some will make them". He furthermore opposed the view that Chaucer derived his arms from Euclid, and characterized the statements that Chaucer's ancestors were merchants as "a mere conjecture and of no valydytye". Speght in his later editions omitted the remark as to Euclid, and inserted in its place Thynne's statement just quoted; he also added a note embodying Thynne's views as to the Merchants.

Others who argued against this view were G. Gilfillan (p. 6), Chalmers (*English Poets*, London, 1810, I, p. iii), and E. Sanford (*British Poets*, Phila., 1819, p. 8). Richard was called Thomas by the last writer, and the mention of the tavern in his will was regarded as proving that he could not be the father of the poet.

The author of the Life prefixed to Urry's edition combated Speght's suggestion that Richard Chaucer was the father of the poet on the ground that this Richard "left his House, Tavern and Stock to the Church of St. *Mary Aldermary*,
* * * At which time our Poet being a young Student in the University, this supposed Father must have been an unnatural Bigot to give all he had to the Church, and leave

¹² II, pt. I, 144 (1867); V, 92; *Eng. Lit.*, 109.

his Son unprovided for, unless he designed to dedicate him to Religion, * * * It is more probable that this Vintner had neither Children, nor near Relations, * * * ”.¹³ Another fact, according to this author, which made against Speght's theory was that a Vintner should possess the family estates in Oxfordshire mentioned by Leland.

He said that the descent of Chaucer was not known, but offered the suggestion that the father of the poet was one John Chaucer whom he found “attending upon *Edw. III.* and Queen *Philippa* in their Expedition to *Flanders* and *Cologne*, [and] who had the King's Protection to go over the Sea, in the twelfth year of his Reign (p. 1)”. His reason for doing this was that “*Chaucer's* first application, after leaving the University and Inns of Law, was to the Court; nor is it unlikely the Services of the Father should recommend the Son”. This view found many adherents, and was often repeated in subsequent accounts of the poet.¹⁴

Biog. Brit. (III, 451, note A) repeated Urry as to Richard and John Chaucer, but added that there was no evidence in favor of the John Chaucer theory save that such a man lived at that time. It nevertheless agreed with Urry that Chaucer was the son of a gentleman rather than of a tradesman, and for the following reasons: 1. He was educated as a gentleman. 2. His position at Court shows him to have been of gentle birth. 3. The social position of his wife, and John of Gaunt's aid in his courtship bear the same testimony. 4. His writings are

¹³ Morley (II, pt. I, 145-6, 1867) disputed the soundness of this argument, alleging that we know Richard to have had a son John, that Richard had other property than that bequeathed to the church, which probably descended directly, and that the business was not bequeathed, so that John could still live in the house by paying rent to the church; also, that the John Chaucer of 1338 was the poet's elder brother, not his father.

¹⁴ For repetition of Urry's views, either entire or in part, cf. Chaupepié, *Dictionnaire*, Amsterdam, 1750, II, 71, note B; J. Bell, I, p. ix, note; M. Browne, *Chaucer's England*, London, 1869, I, 14-5; T. Cibber, *Lives of the Poets*, London, 1753, I, 2; C. C. Clarke, 2; *Dublin Univ. Mag.*, LIII, 274; R. Anderson, *British Poets*, London, 1795, I, p. iii; Purves, *Canterbury Tales*, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 4.

written with a freedom and spirit that must have exposed him to great envy had he not been a gentleman. 5. The company which he kept, and the respect paid him by his contemporaries. To Urry's point with regard to Richard he added the further note that Geoffrey never complained of this lack of paternal regard, nor ever appeared to feel the effects of it.

Mr. Clarke (1; *Tales*, 1) adduced the following reasons for his gentle birth: 1. He had studied at both Universities; had travelled abroad, and was a student in the Temple. 2. He was page to the King. 3. His connection by marriage with the family of John of Gaunt, who not only sanctioned but recommended the match.

Mr. Minto (cf. *Biog. Brit.*, *ut supra*; E. Sanford, *British Poets*, Phila., 1819, p. 8) charged Urry and Tyrwhitt with having disputed Speght's theory because they wished to give Chaucer a higher lineage on the ground of his having been "*valettus noster*" to the King. The charge is not sustained by an examination of the works of the two scholars. Urry disputed Speght's theory for the reasons given above, and based his own theory upon the reasons also given above, and even this he proposed most modestly. "As this is proposed with submission to better Judgments, so I lay no greater stress upon it than the reasons suggested will bear". Tyrwhitt did not dispute Speght at all, but was rather inclined to agree with his general conclusion.

The honor of confirming Urry's guess practically belongs to Dr. Furnivall, who in 1873 discovered a deed of release, dated June 19, 1381, by Geoffrey Chaucer, of a tenement in St. Martin's in the Vintry, to Henry Herbury, vintner, by whom it was at that time occupied.¹⁵ The building extended from Thames Street to the "water of Wallebroke" (see map). Of its location in the London of to-day Skeat (I, p. xv) says, "it must have been near the spot where the arrival platform of the South Eastern railway (at Cannon Street) now crosses Thames Street" (cf. Lounsbury, I, 14). Geoffrey

¹⁵ *Husting Rolls*, 110, No. 8; Kirk, pp. x, xi, xxx; *L. R.*, IV, 232; *Ath.*, Nov. 29, 1873, 698; Furnivall, *Ath.*, Jan. 1, 1881, 21; *Trial Forewords*, 131; Thynne, 12, note 3. The fact was first printed by Mr. Overall.

thus described himself: "*me, Galfridum Chaucer, filium Johannis Chaucer, vinetarii Londonie*"; of the tenement he said, "*et quod * * * nuper fuit predicti Johannis patris mei*". This, says Skeat (I, p. xxxiv), "is the best authority for ascertaining his father's name, occupation, and abode". The identity of this John Chaucer with the other John Chaucers of 1313-1366 will be shown later (p. 107). This evidence has been universally accepted,—in some instances, however, with the unnecessary warning that it is not absolutely final.¹⁶ No deed of release for this house by John Chaucer has been found, and the words, "*et nuper fuit predicti Johannis*", would incline us to believe that the house remained in his possession until his death, and then descended to Geoffrey. Mr. Kirk notes that, although the deed is dated June 19, 1381, the conveyance may have taken place long before. "If it had belonged to him when he was about to be appointed Controller of the Customs, it is hardly likely that he would have taken a lease of the house in Aldgate. The situation of his father's house in Thames Street would have been very convenient to him after his appointment". He is therefore inclined to believe either that Chaucer did not inherit any property in the City from his parents, or that he had not retained it until 1374.¹⁷

One service which the printing of the *Life Records* has done for us is the correction of the date of the release. Dr. Furnivall announced the date as June 19, 1380 (note 15), and this was not questioned¹⁸ until the publication of the record, which

¹⁶ F. J. Snell, 123; Saintsbury, *English Literature*, N. Y., 1898, p. 116; Morley, V, 86. Mr. Snell (p. 122) does not fully accept Robert as the poet's grandfather.

¹⁷ Kirk, pp. xxiii, xxx. See p. 101.

¹⁸ Liddell, *Prologue, Knightes Tale, Nonnes Prestes Tale*, N. Y., 1901, p. xcix; Furnivall, *Acad.*, V, 65; *Chambers' Cycl. Eng. Lit.* (1883), I, 12, note; W. Minto, 449; Winship, *Chaucer*, Boston, 1900, p. 22; Skeat, *Prioress' Tale, &c.*, p. viii; Ward, 48; Morley, V, 86; Lounsbury, I, 12; (1900), I, p. viii; *Warner Lib.*, 3553; Hutton, *Literary Landmarks of London*, N. Y., 1903, p. 328; Wülker, 137. Skeat (I, p. xxxiii) notes that the deed is dated 1380, but that in the *Husting Rolls* it is dated 5 Ric. II. (1381-2). The former half of his statement is incorrect. Mr. Pollard (p. 4) and Mr. Snell (p. 123) wrongly give the date as 1382.

contains these words: "*Datum Londonie, decimo nono die mensis Junii, anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum quarto*". Edward III. died June 27, 1377; hence Mr. Kirk is correct in rendering "June 19, 4 Ric. II.", as June 19, 1381.

Sir Harris Nicolas (p. 119) had presumably shown that this John Chaucer was the son of Richard, since Thomas Heyroun, Richard's step-son, called him "brother" in his will, and John Chaucer, in a deed of 1349, termed himself, "executor of the will of my brother, Thos. Heroun".¹⁹ Nicolas admitted the possibility that Richard might have had other sons than John, but did not state that Geoffrey was one of them. This was done by Morley (note 10) and Riley (*Mem.*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv).

Coincident, therefore, with the discovery that Geoffrey was the son of John came the proof that Richard was the poet's grandfather. This was first mentioned in the *Athenaeum*, Dec. 13, 1873, 772, and in the *Athenaeum* for the following week the proofs of such a relation were given with references to Nicolas.²⁰ From then until Mr. Rye in 1881 showed that Robert Chaucer, not Richard, was the poet's grandfather, the present statement was the usual one,²¹ and even persisted long after 1881.²²

Mr. Greenstreet, about the year 1878, made this same discovery, but he probably did not know that John was the father of the poet.²³ Mr. Walter Rye was the first to work the relation out fully and state that Robert Chaucer was the poet's grandfather, though as he himself says, the proofs had been lying idle in three well-known printed books. Considering the

¹⁹ Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 149-50.

²⁰ See Furnivall, *Ath.*, Jan. 1, 1881, 21, for further announcement.

²¹ *Trial Forewords*, 131, note 2; 134; Thynne, 12, note 2; *Acad.*, V, 147; *Chambers' Cycl. Eng. Lit.* (1876), I, 12; Ward, 48; W. Minto, 449; J. M. D. Meiklejohn, 6; A. Gilman, I, p. xxxiii; Skeat (*Bohn*), 16, note 1.

²² *Chambers' Cycl. Eng. Lit.* (1883), I, 12, note; H. R. Haweis, pp. xvii, 14; *Chaucer for Child.*, 3; R. McWilliam, *English Literature*, N. Y., 1890, p. 79; G. H. Ely, 14. See p. 67, note 27.

²³ Furnivall, *Ath.*, Feb. 12, 1881, 235.

accessibility of the records, and the fact that the account in the *Liber Albus* referred to the former trial as having been recorded upon the *Rolls*, xiii, Hilary, 19 Edw. II., it is rather remarkable that it was not noticed sooner.

The discovery was made from a plea held at Norwich in 1326, and entered on *Coram Rege Rolls*, Hilary, 19 Edw. II., No. 263, m. 13. A clear understanding of this plea and of the legal transactions connected therewith is necessary in order to follow the deductions which have been drawn from it. For this reason, and because a complete, connected account of the entire proceeding has not yet been published, I have thought it well to enter into the description of the trial somewhat more fully than would otherwise have been desirable. Mr. Rye's translation of the entry on the *Coram Rege Roll* is herewith quoted in full, since there are several minute points in it which require consideration.²⁴

London—Agnes, the widow of Walter de Westhale, Thomas Stace, Geoffrey Stace, and Laurence "Geffreyesman Stace",²⁵ were attached to answer Richard le Chaucer of London and Mary his wife on a plea that whereas the custody of the land and heir of Robert le Chaucer until the same heir became of full age belonged to the said Robert and Mary (because the said Robert held his land in socage, and the said Mary is next²⁶ in relationship to the heir of the said Robert), and [whereas] the said Richard and Mary long remained in full and peaceful seizin of such wardship, the said Agnes, Thomas, Geoffrey, and Laurence by force and arms took away John, the son and heir of the said Robert, who was under age and in the custody of the said Richard and Mary, and married him against the will of the said Richard and Mary and of

²⁴ W. Rye, *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 165; reprinted with revision in *L. R.*, III, 125 ff.; *Placitorum Abbreviatio*, temp. Ric. I.-Edw. II., 1811; Skeat, p. xi; Kirk, p. ix ff.; *L. R.*, IV, 141 ff. The discovery and its results were noticed in *Acad.*, XIX, 79. Mr. Rye is needlessly hard upon Riley, who, he says (*Ath.*, *op. cit.*; *L. R.*, III, 127, note 1), mistakes the purport of the trial, and goes out of his way to say that "it does not throw any light on his [Ric. C.] family or calling" (cf. *Mem.*, p. xxxiv). Mr. Riley was referring only to that portion of the trial printed in the *Liber Albus*—the other appears to be unknown to him—and his remark was perfectly correct.

²⁵ "Laurence, the man of Geoffrey Stace". Cf. "Hugo Philippesman Harneys", *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Edw. II., pt. II, m. 29 d.

²⁶ Mr. Rye has "nearer" (cf. p. 62).

the said heir, and also did other unlawful acts against the said Richard and Mary, to the grave injury of the said Richard and Mary, and against the peace.

And therefore the said Richard and Mary by their attorney complain that whereas the custody of the land and heir of the said Robert, viz. of one messuage with its appurtenances in Ipswich, until the full age of, &c., belonged, &c., because the said Robert held the said messuage in socage and the said Mary is next²⁶ in relationship to the said Robert, viz. mother of the said heir, and formerly the wife of the said Robert, and [whereas] the said Richard and Mary remained in full and peaceful seizin of the said wardship for a long while, namely, for one year; they, the said Agnes, Thomas, Geoffrey, and Laurence, on the Monday before the feast of St. Nicholas (Dec. 3, 1324), in the eighteenth year of the present King, and against the will of the said Richard and Mary, stole and took away by force and arms, viz. swords, bows and arrows, the said John, son and heir of the said Robert, who was under age, viz. being under the age of fourteen years, and then in the wardship of the said Richard and Mary in London, namely, in the ward of Cordwanerstrete, and married him to one Joan, the daughter of Walter de Esthale,²⁷ and committed other unlawful acts, &c.

Wherefore they say that they are injured, and have suffered damage to the extent of 300 l.

The defence put in was

that, according to the customs of the "Burg" of Ipswich from time to which, &c., any heir under age when his heirship shall descend to him shall remain in the charge of the nearest of his blood, but that his inheritance shall not descend to him till he has completed the age of 12 years, and shall know how to reckon and to measure; and they say that the said heir of the said Robert completed the age of 12 years before the suing out of the said writ,

and therefore ought not to be in anyone's wardship. And it was further alleged that the said Agnes, Thomas, Geoffrey, and Laurence did not cause the said heir to be married.

To this defense the plaintiffs rejoined that as the Defendants did not deny that the wardship should have appertained to Mary as next of kin, and as the action was personal and be-

²⁷ A transcriber's error for Westhale. Cf. *Suffolk Fines*, 18 Edw. II., No. 156; *Ancient Petitions*, No. 8432; *Rot. Parl.*, II, 14; *Petitions*, 2 Edw. III., No. 6; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 142, 144. The form Esthale also occurs, cf. Kirk, *ibid.*; *Acad.*, XIX, 79, 98; XXXIV, 371; Furnivall, XXXVI, 290; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; R. Morris, *Prol.*, p. vii (1883); Morris-Skeat, *Prol.*, p. vii. For "Westhall" cf. Furnivall, *Acad.*, XXXI, 113.

longed to no other than her as the mother, &c., they therefore requested judgment.

The trial was begun before the King at Norwich, in the Hilary term (Jan. 11-31, 1326),²⁸ when the parties appeared by their attorneys; it was adjourned till Easter (Apr. 15-May 8, 1326); then till Trinity term at Westminster (May 22-June 12, 1326); then till Michaelmas term (Nov. 2-25, 1326); and then to the morrow of All Souls (Nov. 2, 1326). Owing to the unsettled state of the Courts for some time before and after the "demiſſion" of Edw. II., the trial was not resumed until Easter (Apr. 15-May 8, 1327) at York, when Richard le Chaucer and Mary, his wife, appeared by their attorney, but the Defendants did not appear, and the Sheriffs returned that they had not been found in London.

A question of jurisdiction now arose, and the matter was adjourned till the Trinity term (May 22-June 12, 1327). Plaintiffs then appeared by their attorney and Defendants did not appear. The matter of jurisdiction having been settled, the Plaintiffs appeared before one of the Justices and two Aldermen²⁹ at St. Martin's le Grand,³⁰ Sept. 7, 1327, but the Defendants did not appear. But since in the Easter term of 1327 it was decided to take the jury by default of the Defendants, the jury was taken.

The jurors found that the Defendants by night forcibly abducted the said John, son and heir of Robert, being under age and in the Plaintiffs' wardship at London in the Ward afore-

²⁸ In *Acad.*, XIX, 98, the trial is wrongly stated to have begun at Westminster. See p. 54.

²⁹ Robert Baynard, Hamo de Chigwell, and Nicholas de Farndon, the two latter sitting on behalf of the City. Cf. Riley, *Liber Albus*, I, 437; trans., 376.

³⁰ Kirk (p. ix) placed the trial in Oct., 1327, but Mr. Rye (*L. R.*, III, 127) gave the date as Sunday next before the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which Skeat (I, p. xi) calculated to be Sept. 7, 1326, but he forgot that over a year had elapsed since the trial began, and hence the date should be 1327.

said, but that Defendants did not marry the heir;³¹ and they assessed the damages at 250 *l.*³² Judgment was deferred until Michaelmas (Nov. 2-25, 1327), when the Plaintiffs appeared before the King at York, John de Ledenham being Mary's attorney, and judgment was given that Plaintiffs recover their said damages, and that Defendants be taken.

In 1328 Geoffrey Stace appealed to the King against this judgment,³³ claiming that, whereas heretofore a writ for abduction of a ward was ordained by Statute only in respect to a wardship appertaining to a lord, Richard le Chaucier of London and Mary, his wife, had brought such a writ against himself *et al.* concerning John, son and heir of Robert de Chaucier, under age and in their wardship, &c. He furthermore claimed that the damages were taxed at 250 *l.*, although the tenements of the heir were worth no more than 20 *s.* a year, and that the jury had found "*qu'ils avoient ravi le dit heire mcs ne mie mariee*". He prayed the King and Council that the record of the plea might be brought into Parliament, and as the heir was then with the Plaintiffs and unmarried,³⁴ that some remedy

³¹ Mr. Rye at first overlooked this statement in the verdict, and therefore supposed that John married Joan de Westhale in 1324 (*Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 165-6), but he later corrected the error (*Ath.*, Feb. 5, 1881, 200; *Acad.*, XIX, 98; Furnivall (*Acad.*, XXXIV, 371) incorrectly gives the reference to the *Ath.* as Feb. 12). Notwithstanding Dr. Furnivall's assertion that he had done so (*Acad.*, XXXIV, 372), he failed to remove all traces of the error in the reprint of the article in *L. R.*, III. See "Joan * * * to whom John Chaucer was afterwards forcibly married", *L. R.*, III, 129. He also made the further mistake of confounding Agnes and Joan (cf. p. 95, note 43). From the complaint which Richard and Mary made, it would seem that they thought that the marriage had been accomplished (see p. 48).

³² An unusually heavy fine, amounting to about 2500-5000 *l.* of our present currency, money in those days having from ten to twenty times its present value. Cf. Liddell, *Prologue, Knight's Tale, Nonnes Prestes Tale*, p. cxi; Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, II (Clarendon Press).

³³ *Ancient Petitions*, No. 8432; *Rot. Parl.*, II, 14; *Petitions*, 2 Edw. III., No. 6; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 143. The name is spelt "Chancier" in the printed edition of the *Rot. Parl.*

³⁴ Mr. Rye (*L. R.*, III, 127) printed the record as "*nulson dismarie*", but *Rot. Parl.*, II, 14, and the other scholars have "*unkore dismarie*".

might be provided in respect of the damage by attainr or in some other manner.³⁵ The appeal is not dated more definitely than 1328.

The fate of this petition is unknown, but it evidently did not produce the desired result, since Geoffrey Stace in the fall of the same year again appealed against the verdict,³⁶ alleging that the jury which tried the case had made a false oath.³⁷ Since there have been several misstatements made with reference to this trial, and since the decision itself was such an important one for future cases that it was preserved in the City records, I have included a full account of it, taken from Riley's *Liber Albus*, I, 437-444; trans., 376-381.

The Sheriff was ordered to summon twenty-four men to be present, fifteen days from the day of St. Martin (Nov. 11), prepared upon oath to make recognizance by what persons the aforesaid Inquisition between Richard Chaucer and Mary, and Agnes, Thomas, Geoffrey, and Laurence was taken at St. Martin's le Grand, and as to whether or not they had made a false oath as Geoffrey had charged. They should also inquire who the jurors were, and produce them before the King, and also summon Richard and Mary to be present. The Sheriffs (1329) replied that they had made no execution of the above writ because, according to the liberties and ancient customs of the City of London, no attainr ought to be taken upon the citizens of the city as to any matter arising within the city.

Thereupon, the King issued a writ, dated Oct. 28, 2 Edw.

³⁵ Skeat (I, p. xiii) placed this petition after the appeal as to attainr (p. 51), but its proper place is between the first verdict and the appeal for attainr, because it has direct reference to the 250 *l.* damages; it asks that redress may be had by attainr; and it was made in 1328, while the other appeal was plead Oct., 1328-Oct., 1329.

³⁶ Riley, *Liber Albus*, I, 437-444; trans., 376-381; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 144. The date at the head of the record refers to the end of the trial.

³⁷ Rye (*Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 165; *L. R.*, III, 127), Redstone (*Proceedings of Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, XII, 188), Mrs. Haweis (*Belgravia*, XLVIII, 38), and Skeat (I, p. xii) all say that Richard and Mary were the ones accused of perjury. An examination of the record shows that the attainr was made upon the jurors, not upon the Chaucers. Mrs. Haweis placed the attainr in 1329.

III., reâffirming his grant to the citizens of their liberties and free customs. In accordance with this Writ the Sheriffs were ordered to summon the Mayor and citizens of the city to appear before the King upon the Octaves of St. Hilary (Jan. 13) to show what were the liberties and free customs which they had been accustomed to use. The Sheriffs, however, did nothing, and the matter was postponed until the end of three weeks from Easter day. On this day they met and requested a respite of forty days in which to prepare the record. They were therefore ordered to appear at the end of fourteen days from the day of St. John the Baptist (June 24).

This they did, and there claimed that the old writ granting them their liberties and free customs granted to them by Edw. II. should remain in force, and that, when juries had been taken by oath of citizens of the city as to any matter arising in the city, the verdict of such jury ought to be believed as truthful, and that faith should be placed therein forever to endure. They furthermore recorded that no attainr as to such jurors ought to be taken or had ever been taken, and they demanded that the citizens should be permitted to use such liberty and free custom.

The prosecutors for the King replied that every liberty and free custom should be proved by its use, not by its disuse, and that, since the Mayor and the citizens had recorded that in such pleas no attainr ought or had been wont to be taken as to a jury of citizens of the city upon any matter arising within the city, the same would imply a disuse rather than a custom. And they furthermore claimed that such things had been done before, and that in similar cases the Sheriffs had returned not only the names of the twenty-four jurors, but those of the first jury.

But the King, abiding by his promise made in the above writ (Oct. 28, 2 Edw. III.) to grant to the citizens their liberties and free customs, commanded Geoffrey's attorney to order Geoffrey to appear before the King fourteen days after the day of St. Michael (Sept. 29). And the same day was given to Richard and Mary.

Afterwards, Geoffrey appeared in person, Richard and Mary and the citizens appearing by their respective attorneys. Geof-

frey put in the plea made by the prosecutor for the King that similar cases had happened before, but as Geoffrey failed to show that any attaint was ever taken in the city as to a jury of citizens of the city, and as the King had promised the citizens the use of their liberties and free customs, and as the Mayor and citizens of the city recorded that no attaint was ever taken as to a jury of citizens of the city upon any matter arising within the city, it was therefore adjudged that Geoffrey should take nothing for such attaint, but that the said attaint should be wholly annulled; and since Geoffrey had formerly been convicted by trespass as set forth in the term of St. Hilary, 19 Edw. II., it was therefore adjudged that Geoffrey be committed to the Marshall.

From this it will be seen that Geoffrey Stace, before Oct. 28, 1328, must have alleged that the jury had made a false oath. The Sheriff was ordered to summon the twenty-four knights to appear upon Nov. 26, 1328, but since the Sheriffs replied that they could not do this, the King, on Oct. 28, 1328, issued his writ. In accordance with this writ, Jan. 21-2, 1329, was set for the trial; then three weeks from Easter day, 1329; then July 8, 1329; then Oct. 13, 1329, at which time Stace was turned over to the Marshall. Skeat (I, p. xii) says, "the Staces * * * attainted Richard le Chaucer and his wife in Nov. 1328 of committing perjury". It has just been shown that it was the *jury* which was thus attainted, and that this was done previous to Oct. 28, 1328. The Knights were summoned to appear Nov. 1328, and this perhaps accounts for the mistake.

Geoffrey and Agnes, who had in the meantime married,⁸⁸ were confined in Marshalsea prison, and in 1330, in a petition which briefly set forth the history of the case, they begged the King to release them, "taking from them a reasonable fine for what pertains to him in this behalf", on the ground that Geoffrey had satisfied the said heir, who was then of full age, and had letters of acquittance thereof. Thereupon, on Dec.

⁸⁸ Just when the marriage took place is not known; it was before Sept. 8, 1327 (p. 121). *Cal. Close Rolls*, 4 Edw. III., m. 10; Appendix, p. 146.

15, 1330, "because it is contained in the statute recently issued at Marlebergg that the keepers of lands held in socage ought to render account to the heirs of the land when they come of age for the issues of the lands", and in consideration of the fact that, if Geoffrey has satisfied the heir, Richard and Mary should be discharged thereof, the King, Edward III., not wishing to keep Geoffrey and Agnes in prison any longer for this reason, ordered the justices "to call before them the said heir and to see the acquittance aforesaid, and if they ascertain by his acknowledgment or otherwise that the acquittance is his deed, or that he have been satisfied otherwise for the aforesaid sum by Geoffrey, they are then to call before them Richard and Mary and to hear their reasons, and if they cannot shew cause why Geoffrey and Agnes should not be delivered from prison, they are to cause Geoffrey and Agnes to be released, taking from them a reasonable fine for what pertains to the King in this behalf".³⁹

On the following day the King ordered Geoffrey and Agnes to be released from prison upon their finding mainpernors to have them before the justices to prosecute the matter and to answer to the King for what pertains to him, and to answer to Richard and Mary for their damages, if they be adjudged to them by the justices.⁴⁰ The result of the trial is not known.

The above constitutes only the latter portion of a series of disputes concerning the wardship and property of John Chaucer, which were begun in 1324. The first notice of the dispute occurs in the rolls of the Great Court, Ipswich, for the year 18 Edward II., and consists of a summons on behalf of John, son of Robert de Dynyngton of Ipswich, against Agnes,

³⁹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 4 Edw. III., m. 10 (new). This record is not included in the *L. R.*, nor have I elsewhere seen any reference to it. Mr. Greenstreet must have been aware of it, since Dr. Furnivall, citing Mr. Greenstreet's *Chaucer Record-notes* as his authority, gives a few of the particulars mentioned above. Cf. Furnivall, *Acad.*, XIX, 98; XXVIII, 359; XXXI, 113; XXXVI, 290; R. Morris, *Prol.*, p. vi (1883); Morris-Skeat, *Prol.*, p. vi; Morley, V, 95. Both Dr. Furnivall and Morley wrongly place the date as 1331 (cf. page 92). For copy of *Cal.* entry see Appendix, p. 146.

⁴⁰ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 4 Edw. III., m. 11 (new). See Appendix, p. 147.

formerly the wife of Walter de Westhale, on a plea concerning rights to certain land. At the second court essoin was granted Agnes, and at the third court, Nov. 4, 1324, the cause was removed to the King's Court. "On Nov. 16, 1324, new proceedings were instituted in the Ipswich Court, Richard Chaucer and Mary, his wife, demanded of Agnes de Westhale a moiety of a messuage of two shops and of a toft in Ipswich as dower of Mary. It was pleaded on behalf of Agnes that that moiety could not be claimed of her, for John, son of Robert Chaucer, was seised of the property on the day of the petition, and Robert Chaucer was seised of the same on the day of the espousal". The jury found that John was seised of the property, which causes doubt as to whether Mary was the mother, or only the step-mother of John Chaucer.⁴¹ I do not think, however, that the doubt is sufficiently strong to overthrow the present view that she was the mother, as stated in the records quoted above.

From the records referring to the abduction we learn the following facts concerning Chaucer's family. Agnes de Westhale, Geoffrey and Thomas Stace, and Laurence, the man of Geoffrey, by night took by force John Chaucer, the son and heir of Robert le Chaucer by Mary his wife, who was in 1326 the wife of Richard le Chaucer, and made an unsuccessful attempt to marry him to Joan de Westhale, the daughter of Walter de Westhale. The attempt was made Dec. 3, 1324, when John was not yet fourteen years of age and living in the Ward of Cordwanerstrete, London, with Richard and Mary, in whose wardship he had been for one year. Robert had owned a messuage with its appurtenances in Ipswich, which had descended to John and was worth about 20 s. a year. John was twelve years old before Jan., 1326, and was in 1328 still unmarried and living with Richard and Mary. By 1330 he had been "satisfied" for the amount of damages by Geoffrey Stace.

The records which Mr. Redstone discovered show that Agnes was the widow of Walter de Westhale in the latter half of

⁴¹ For the above facts see V. B. Redstone, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, XII, 189; *Great Court Roll*, Ipswich, 18 Edw. II.

1324, that the messuage consisted of two shops and a toft, and that the abduction in December was probably undertaken with the idea of securing the property which was adjudged to be John's in November. This last statement is further supported by the fact that on the previous Michaelmas (1324) a fine was levied between Agnes, the widow of Walter de Westhale, petent, and John de Reynes, parson of the church of Melton, and Richard de Glaunvile (no doubt trustees), tenants, as to two parts of the manor of Colesle and the land at Alderton, being in effect a settlement on the widow for life, remainder to Sibilla the daughter of Walter de Westhale and the heirs of her body, remainder to Joan her sister, and ultimate remainder to John Chaucer, son of Robert le Chaucer, and his heirs.⁴² Walter de Westhale had purchased the land from Adam de Huntingfeld and Margaret, his wife, in 1318-19.⁴³

Further reference to this land perhaps occurs in the *Calendar of Close Rolls* (4 Edw. III., m. 21 d.), where it is recorded, on Oct. 1, 1330, that Robert de Stanmere sought to replevy to Geoffrey Stace and Agnes, his wife, their land in Colesle, which was taken into the king's hands for their default before the justices of the Bench against Roger de Herford. Failing in their attempt to obtain possession of John's tavern and lands by force, Geoffrey and Agnes purchased them from him, and later sold them to others.⁴⁴

Mr. Redstone's records also show that Robert le Chaucer was likewise known as Robert de Dynyngton of Ipswich, a fact which he has developed and abundantly illustrated by other records. On the Thursday after the feast of St. James (July 25), 1343, John le Chaucer, son of Robert, son of Andrew de Dynytone, of Ipswich, gave up all claim which he had to certain premises in Ipswich.⁴⁵ This Andrew de Dynytone, or

⁴² W. Rye, *Suffolk Fines*, 18 Edw. II., No. 156; *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 166; *L. R.*, III, 129.

⁴³ Rye, *Suffolk Fines*, 143.

⁴⁴ Redstone, *op. cit.*, 188, 191.

⁴⁵ Enrolments "De Recognitionibus ac Testamentis probatis", Ipswich. A literal transcript of the record is given by Mr. Redstone on p. 199, and in *Ath.*, Feb. 24, 1906, 233, he gave a brief statement of the results of his researches.

Dennington, was the son of Robert le Taverner of Ipswich and London, and Dulcia, his wife, further details of whom will be given in the next chapter.⁴⁶

John Chaucer is said by Skeat to have been born in 1312.⁴⁷ The grounds for this date are as follows: according to his mother's statement he was under fourteen years of age on Dec. 3, 1324; according to the statement of the Staces he had completed the age of twelve before the suing out of the writ. Since the Staces would certainly have alleged it had he been twelve at the time of the abduction, we may safely infer that he was under twelve at that time. But for John to have been under twelve at that date and also born in 1312, he must have been born between the third and thirty-first of December.⁴⁸ Under these circumstances I think it would be more accurate to place his birth somewhere in the year 1313,—there is certainly a wider range of possibility in the latter date.⁴⁹ The only check to it is the fact that he was twelve and over at the time of the suing out of the writ. The time of this is not known, but the parties first appeared in court in Jan., 1326, and it is likely that the writ was dated not many months previous to that date. Certainty cannot be had, but it is well to make our guesses as accurate as the known facts will allow.

Lounsbury (I, 13, 52) made the general statement that he "was born about 1310". If our inference that John was not yet twelve when the attempt at abduction was made, be correct, then anywhere in the region of 1310 is incorrect; but even laying that aside, we see that, since he must at any rate have been under fourteen on Dec. 3, 1324, the only period in 1310 in which he could have been born was Dec. 3-31. Mr.

⁴⁶ Redstone, *op. cit.*, 188.

⁴⁷ I, pp. xi-xiv; Wülker, 134; Tuckwell, *Chaucer*, London, 1904, p. 10.

⁴⁸ Skeat (I, p. xiii) is, therefore, wrong in saying that he was sixteen in Nov., 1328.

⁴⁹ Mr. Hall (*N. & Q.*, 7 S., XII, 338) gave 1313 as the date of John's birth, but later changed it to 1310 (*N. & Q.*, 9 S., V, 146). See also *Ath.*, Apr. 9, 1892, 463, where the reviewer of Lounsbury's *Studies* says that John in 1328 was "unmarried and under eighteen years of age", and H. S. Ward, *Canterbury Pilgrimages*, Phila., 1905, p. 141, who says that he was between twelve and fourteen at the time of the abduction.

Kirk (p. xi) does not definitely mention his date of birth, but appears to assume 1312. His account of the trial differs in one particular from that of Mr. Rye, namely, that here the plaintiffs are made to say that John was under fourteen in Jan., 1326,⁵⁰ while in the former version the reference was to Dec. 3, 1324. If the statement be correct, John cannot have been born before Jan. 11, 1312, nor later, as has been shown, than 1313.⁵¹ Mr. Hall⁴⁹ stated that John was born in 1310, and possibly posthumously, but I am unable to find upon what authority he based his statement as to the posthumous birth. Robert le Chaucer was appointed a collector of customs on Aug. 2, 1310, and died between the earlier part of 1312 and Oct. 29, 1315 (p. 66).

⁵⁰ "Plaintiffs *were* in seisin of the wardship for one year, and the heir *is* under age, to wit, under fourteen years, and *was* in their custody at London, in the Ward of Cordwanerstrete". *L. R.*, IV, 142. Italics are mine. Cf. *ibid.*, p. ix, where apparently the same statement is made, though the "then" may refer to the time of wardship instead of the time of the trial. Mrs. Haweis (*Belgravia*, XLVIII, 38) makes the same statement (cf. J. H. Round, *Acad.*, XXII, 50).

⁵¹ John's age at the time of his abduction has usually been most loosely stated. Mr. Snell (p. 123) gives it as "twelve or fourteen"; Pollard (p. 3; *Globe ed.*, p. xv) has "between twelve and fourteen"; Morley (V, 86) says "fourteen", though he elsewhere states the age correctly (87, 95); Furnivall (*Acad.*, XXXVI, 290) puts it at fourteen. It has been shown that he could not have been fourteen, and that the probability is that he was not even twelve.

IV.

THE GRANDPARENTS OF CHAUCER.

Having thus established the parentage of the poet and dealt with the majority of those questions dependent upon the abduction of the poet's father, we may now in more orderly fashion discuss the various members of the parentage. The earlier ancestors are known to have lived in Ipswich, co. Suffolk. Mr. Redstone (*op. cit.*, 184) gives an interesting account of the town, from which I quote a short extract:

"In the days of the Plantagenet Edwards, Ipswich was a leading commercial town on the East Coast. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries ships from the countries of Western Europe disembarked their cargoes on its quays—wines from Spain; timber from Norway; cloths from Flanders; salt from France, and '*mercerie*' from Italy left its crowded wharves to be offered for sale, or exchange, in the narrow, busy streets of the town. Stores of fish from Iceland, bales of wool, loads of untanned hides, as well as the varied agricultural produce of the district—corn, hay, butter, cheese, poultry, and meat were exposed twice in the week on the market stalls to attract would-be purchasers. * * * The leading industry in the town was the manufacture of leather, carried on by the barkers, skimmers, and tanners, who dwelt near the brook in the parish of St. Mary Elms.

"There were numerous fields and gardens as well as large tracts of waste land lying within the walls of the borough. The houses which formed the shops and dwellings of the burgesses stood in clusters near the quays and market places. The trade which manifested the greatest amount of activity was that of the vintner. The large blocks of taverns in the vicinity of the Flesh Market were also depôts for the storing of cloths, for the taverner kept open his tavern, not only for the sale of wines, but as a guest house for wool and cloth merchants. This dis-

trict was called the Vintry; and many of its taverns were owned or occupied by members of the Malyn family".

In two rentals of the priory of Holy Trinity, Ipswich,¹ which give a complete list of the rents collected on behalf of the cellarer of the Priory, occur the following entries:

Rental *circa* 1260

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
(a) Robert the Taverner, yearly rent.....	1	0	0
(c) Malin of London			6
(d) Robert the Taverner for Morel's house.	1		4

Rental *circa* 1280

(a) Duce Malyn for her tavern, rent.....	1	0	0
(c) Duce Malyn for the " <i>selda</i> " formerly Silvester's, rent			6

We see thereby that Duce (Dulcia) Malyn succeeded to the property of Robert the Taverner, and Malin of London, who are probably one and the same person. The poet's family would thus appear to be connected at an early date with both London and Ipswich. Robert, under the title of "Robert de Dinehinetune", purchased of Margery, widow of Walter de Leystone, property in St. Peter's parish, Ipswich, for which he paid a yearly rental of four pence and two cloves of garlic.² As Duce Malyn's name occurs for that of Robert the Taverner in the *Lay Subsidy Roll* for 1283, and she was assessed for her wines in that year,³ it is probable that Robert the Taverner died before 1280, and as her name does not occur in any of

¹ Transcribed by W. P. Hunt, and printed for private distribution only, by Frederic Pawsey, Ipswich, 1847; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 185. Before reading the chapter see the table at the end of the Summary; a knowledge of the table will serve to prevent confusion while following the various persons of the chapter under their several names.

² *Ancient Deeds*, A 3641 (Rec. Com.); Redstone, *op. cit.*, 189. The deed is not dated, but among the witnesses is Matthew de Porta, who was a bailiff in 1255-1269; see Appendix, p. 148.

³ *Lay Subsidy Roll* for the borough of Ipswich, 1283, transcribed by Mr. Edgar Powell, *Proceedings of Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, XII; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 186.

the existing *Borough Records* she probably died soon after 1283.

Robert and Duce Malyn had as their son, Andrew de Dennington, known also as Andrew Le Taverner, and "probably also numbered among their children, William, the merchant; William, the taverner; John, the friar; and Nicholas, the clerk; all of Ipswich, and known under the names of Malyn and de Dennington". Andrew the Taverner and Walter Aurifaber held the tavern which Robert and Duce had held, and in 1288, Andrew's widow, the daughter of Aurifaber, mortgaged it to her husband's brother, William Malyn,⁴ who was the father of Richard Malyn otherwise known as Richard Chaucer.⁵ Richard was thus the first cousin of Robert Chaucer.⁶

Andrew had two children, Robert and Agnes, the latter of whom married Walter de Westhale, by whom, as we have seen, she had two children, Sibyll and Joan. In attempting to marry John to Joan she was thus endeavouring to make him marry his first cousin. Sibyll married William de Knapton, and Joan married Robert de Beverley; Agnes, as we have seen, after the death of Westhale, married Geoffrey Stace.

The other child, Robert, was variously known as Robert Malyn, Robert de Dennington, Robert le Chaucer, and Robert the Saddler,⁷ and was the grandfather of Geoffrey Chaucer. After his mother's death, Robert le Chaucer of London held the tavern in the parish of St. Lawrence, Ipswich, which had been mortgaged to William Malyn, conjointly with his sister's husband, Walter de Westhale, who had purchased a share in the tavern. Robert possessed extensive holdings in Ipswich, principally in the Vintry; he also held lands in Rushmere and in the parish of St. Peter, Ipswich. The latter property is that for which his grandfather had paid a yearly rental of

⁴ *Great Court Roll*, Ipswich, 16 Edw. I.; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 188.

⁵ Will of William Malyn proved at Ipswich, 28 Edw. I.; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 188.

⁶ For further particulars concerning the Malyns and also the Staces, see chapter VI.

⁷ *De Recognitionibus*, 17 Edw. III., 8 Edw. III.; will of Simon de Debenham, proved 35 Edw. I., Ipswich Records; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 187.

four pence and two cloves of garlic, which sum was also paid by Robert. Robert also owned a tavern in Cooks' Rowe, Ipswich, which descended to his daughter Isabella,⁸ who married Thomas de Blakeney, citizen of London, and by him had three children, Stephen, Joan, and Christine.⁹ These sold the Cooks' Rowe tavern to William Smyth of Ipswich.¹⁰ There is no entry in the Ipswich records showing Mary Chaucer's relationship to Isabella, the daughter of Robert Chaucer. Other dwellings in the parish of St. Lawrence, Ipswich, next the Hennemarket, were sold by Robert to Walter de Westhale, and descended to Joan, who granted them to her sister Sibyll.¹¹

On account of the strong personal interest taken by the Staces in the trial, and the expression on the *Coram Rege Roll* that Mary, the wife of Richard, was *nearer* in relationship to her ward, Mr. Rye suggested that some one concerned was also related in a more remote degree, and asked, "Could Mary Chaucer have been a sister or daughter of Thomas Stace, and the dispute no more or less than a family quarrel"? The settlement of land upon Agnes, Sibilla, Joan, and John, noted on a preceding page, and the property adjudged to be John's in Nov., 1324 (p. 55), would furnish a motive for the abduction, namely, the desire to gain control of John's property, and would also indicate some degree of relationship between Agnes and John.

This suggestion, after the manner of many other suggestions, was raised into a fact by later writers. Thus, Lounsbury (I, 51) wrote: "The language of the complaint of the plaintiffs unquestionably gives the impression that some of those concerned in the attempt were related to the young heir". Skeat (I, pp. x, xiii) went to even greater lengths: "The fact that Mary le Chaucer claimed to be *nearer in relationship* to the heir (being, in fact, his mother) than the

⁸ *De Recognitionibus*, 5 Edw. III.; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 190.

⁹ Court of Hustings, City of London, part I, page 357; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 190.

¹⁰ *De Recognitionibus*, 17 Edw. III.; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 190.

¹¹ *De Recognitionibus*, 8 Edw. III., 17 Edw. III.; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 191, note 6.

Staces clearly shows that they were very near relations. We can hardly doubt that the maiden name of Mary le Chaucer was Stace, and that she was a sister to Thomas and Geoffrey Stace".¹²

The actual words of the *Roll* are, "*Et predicta Maria propinquior est heredi ipsius Roberti, scilicet, mater ipsius heredis et quondam uxor ipsius Roberti*"; and the plaintiffs further alleged that defendants did not deny "*quin ad ipsam Mariam custodia terre predicti heredis, tanquam ad propinquiorem, &c., pertineat*". The proper translation here is "next", not "nearer", since in records the comparative degree is frequently used in a superlative sense, as in the well-known term "*propinquior haeres*", next heir.¹³ Reference to the translation of the *Roll* will show that Mary is not said to be "nearer in relationship to the heir than the Staces" or any other person, but merely "nearer in relationship to the heir", which is, to say the least, obscure unless we regard it as "next". Had a comparison been intended the latter half of the clause would hardly have been omitted, least of all in a legal document.

The relationship was there, but was not that for which the scholars were looking. It is to the Westhales, not to the Staces, that we should look for the relation—the only link between the Staces and the Chaucers is the marriage of Agnes Malyn, Robert's sister, to Geoffrey Stace. But Agnes had married Walter de Westhale before the abduction of John Chaucer, and Mary Chaucer had been Mary de Westhale even before she became Mary Heyroun. It is therein that the rela-

¹² W. Rye, *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 165; *L. R.*, III, 125 ff. Others who believe that a family connection is possible are: Morley, V, 86, 87, 89; Pollard, 3; *Globe ed.*, p. xv, note; *Prol.*, p. xi, note 2; F. J. Snell, 122. *Acad.*, XXII, 30, makes her either a Westhale or a Stace. Mr. Hall (*N. & Q.*, 9 S., V, 146) permits the impression that the abduction took place in 1326, and that it was a family affair, though he may have been aware that 1326 was not the year. Mrs. Haweis (*Belgravia*, XLVIII, 39) suggested that Agnes was a Stace.

¹³ Kirk, p. ix, note I. Cf. use of "next" in *Cal. Close Rolls*, 4 Edw. III., m. 10, 11, and the phrase, "*et la dite Marie plus prochein a l'enfaunt*", *Rot. Parl.*, II, 14.

tion lies—Agnes de Westhale was John's aunt, and Mary, John's mother, was a Westhale.

Turning now to the records contained in the *Life Records*, we see that there are but five which refer to Robert le Chaucer. In addition to these there is a mere mention of a Robert le Chaucer of London in the *Close Rolls*, 50 Henry III., m. 14 d., 1265, which may or may not refer to the poet's grandfather.¹⁴ In July, 1307, he and his wife Mary, for themselves and the heirs of Mary, remised and quitclaimed ten acres of land with the appurtenances in Edmonton (co. Middlesex) to Ralph le Clerk of Edmonton, tenant, for 100 s. of silver. The record verifies what has already been stated, viz., that the wife of Robert was named Mary, and shows her to have been married to Robert before July 8, 1307.¹⁵ The phrase, "and the heirs of Mary", probably signifies that the land belonged to her and had been granted her free from all debts of her husband (cf. p. 95). Mr. Kirk (p. viii) says that Robert possessed this land "evidently in right of his wife", and this phrase is the only authority that I can find for his statement.

On Nov. 15, 1308, he was attorney of Henry de Say, the King's Butler, in the City and Port of London, and was to perform those things appertaining to the office whenever the said Henry could not personally attend to them.¹⁶ He is described as a citizen of London. Henry de Say was appointed chief butler by the king on Oct. 16, 1307, and held his office about two years, being succeeded by Walter de Waldeshuf on Sept. 8, 1309.¹⁷ Robert probably succeeded Reginald le Barber, who, in a record similar to the one referring to Robert, was appointed by de Say as his deputy in the port of London on

¹⁴ W. Rye, *N. & Q.*, 9 S., I, 331 (see p. 162, note 1).

¹⁵ Kirk, p. viii; *L. R.*, IV, 139; Hardy and Page, *Cal. Fines for London and Middlesex*, London, 1892, p. 77; Rye, *Ath.*, Nov. 19, 1892, 704; *Antiquary*, London, 1880—, XXIX, 180. For other records which prove the relation between Robert and Mary see *Court Roll of Petty Pleas*, Ipswich, 1 Edw. III.; *Calendar Letter-Books*, City of London, Book E, p. 218; Redstone, *op. cit.*, note 23.

¹⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 2 Edw. II., pt. II, m. 20; Kirk, p. viii; *L. R.*, IV, 139; E. G. Atkinson, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 210.

¹⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 17; 3 Edw. II., m. 35.

Jan. 6, 1308.¹⁸ He in turn was succeeded by Elias Pier, whom Walter de Waldeshuf appointed to be his deputy in the port of London on Sept. 14, 1309.¹⁹ Robert thus held the position about one year.

"Robert was accused (June 24-7, 1310) of taking part with other Londoners in 'certain outrages and despites' which were committed upon the Gascon merchants resorting to London in 1310, probably with their wines. The King, Edward II., consequently sent the Keeper of his Wardrobe into the City with a mandate to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen for redress of the offences and the arrest of the offenders, including Robert, who were to be 'produced immediately upon the King's coming', but what happened to them is not stated".²⁰ The fact is further thrice noted (June 24, July 6, Aug. 2, 1310) that the King has taken into his protection, &c., the vintners and other merchants "of the aforesaid Duchy" (Gascony).²⁰ Heretofore it had been difficult to reconcile Robert's official position as deputy to the king's butler with his rôle as a trespasser against the Gascon wine merchants, but the records cited above show that he was probably not connected with the customs in June, 1310.

Either the charge was ill-founded, or the offence was condoned, for only a few weeks later, Aug. 2, 1310, Robert and Elias Perr' were appointed by the King to be collectors in the port of London of a new custom on wines payable by the vintners of Aquitaine.²¹ This post was not unlike that afterwards filled in the same port by Richard Chaucer, and later by Geoffrey (cf. p. 72). This position and the fact that he owned

¹⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 2.

¹⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 3 Edw. II., m. 34.

²⁰ *Letter-Book D*, ff. 105, 107; Kirk, p. viii; *L. R.*, IV, 139-40; Jules Delpit, *Collection Générale des Documents Français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*, 431; W. Floyd, *N. & Q.*, 5 S., II, 146. For mention of these Gascon wine merchants see Stow, *Survey*, Vintry Ward, 89. They landed their goods in the Vintry.

²¹ *Fine Roll*, 4 Edw. II., m. 20; Kirk, p. viii; *L. R.*, IV, 140; *Parl. Writs*, II, pt. II, 30; Skeat, I, p. x. W. Rye (*Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 165; *L. R.*, III, 128) was the first to notice this; E. G. Atkinson (*Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 210) gave the date as Aug. 4.

property in Ipswich are the facts most usually given in connection with Robert. Elias Perr' is identical with the Elias Pier who succeeded Robert as deputy; the name occurs also as Peres, Piores, and Pieres.²²

The last record relating to him is dated Oct. 29, 1315.²³ In this, Mary, formerly the wife of Robert le Chaucer, acknowledged that she owed 70 *l.* to Nicholas de Halweford, and promised to pay that sum in moieties at Candlemas and Easter; otherwise it was to be levied on her lands and chattels in the City of London and elsewhere. We therefore know that Robert died between the early part of 1312 and Oct. 29, 1315.²⁴

Mr. Kirk (p. viii) says that "he died in or before 1315, leaving Mary, his widow, in debt". But so far as the record goes, he might have died two years or more before 1315, which would have been ample time for Mary to have contracted a debt. The statement also gives the impression that Mary was left in straitened circumstances, for which there is no sufficient authority. The record itself bears witness to the fact that she had lands and chattels in London and elsewhere. This sentence would render it at least quite possible that Robert owned property in London, and would thus confirm Mr. Kirk's suggestion (p. viii): "No doubt he had property in London, but there is no positive evidence of this".

The Robert le Chaucer in the *Letter-Books* of London (D, 105) under the date 1310 is probably the same person as the one mentioned above,²⁵ as is also the Robert de Suffolk whom Stow records as giving to Walter Darford his tenement with the appurtenance in the lane called Les Arches in the parish of St. Michael Paternoster Church.²⁶ The usual statement is

²² See *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1307-13, pp. 288, 283, 389.

²³ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 9 Edw. II., m. 21 d.; Kirk, p. viii; *L. R.*, IV, 141; Furnivall, *Acad.*, XLIX, 117.

²⁴ Supposing that John was born after Dec. 3, 1312 (cf. p. 57). Skeat places the date loosely as "before 1316." Mr. Jenks, *op. cit.*, 281, confused him with Richard and placed his death in 1348.

²⁵ Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiii; Skeat, I, p. x.

²⁶ *Survey*, (1890) 242; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 194.

that Robert was a vintner,²⁷ and although he is not thus described in any record, the statement is almost certainly correct. It has been shown that he descended from a line of Taverners and that he himself owned several taverns in Ipswich. In London he was certainly connected with the wine trade, and the fact that he was appointed Collector would be evidence that he had had previous knowledge of wines. His son, step-son, and others of the latter's family were vintners, and his wife and son's wife both married vintners upon the death of the Chaucers. Before coming to London Robert was known as Robert the Saddler, which would imply that he had been engaged in the manufacture of saddles in Ipswich. He does not appear to have been connected with the Court otherwise than as attorney to the King's Butler and a collector of customs. There is no clue to his dwelling-place in the City, though Jespersen would make him a resident of the Vintry Ward (cf. p. 102, note 64).

Upon the death of Robert Chaucer and the marriage of his widow with Robert's first cousin, Richard, this latter, through his wife obtained a share in the tavern in the parish of St. Lawrence, Ipswich, which had belonged to Robert the Taverner, Andrew Le Taverner, and Robert le Chaucer. It appears to have consisted of a tavern, three messuages, two shops, and a cottage.²⁸ Richard first appears in the *Life Records* as one of the thirteen vintners chosen to make the scrutiny of wines in the City of London on Oct. 31, 1319.²⁹ As a vintner he may have come into touch with Robert, whose wife he later married, but the above record does not, as Skeat (I, p. xi)

²⁷ Winship, *Chaucer*, Boston, 1900, p. 22; Wülker, 134; F. J. Snell, 287; Mr. Kirk (p. viii) first stated this as "probable", but later termed it "certain" (p. xiii). F. V. N. Painter, *English Literature*, Boston, 1894, p. 24; M. Seymour, *Chaucer's Stories Simply Told*, London, 1888, p. i; Brandl, II, 672; Jespersen, 5; E. F. Willoughby, *Prologue*, London, 1881, p. 11; Halleck, *English Literature*, p. 70; Jenks, *In the Days of Chaucer*, N. Y., 1904, p. 14, all say that Chaucer's grandfather was a vintner; if they refer to Richard they should be classed under p. 46, note 22.

²⁸ Redstone, *op. cit.*, 190.

²⁹ *Letter-Book E*, f. 94; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 141. Riley (*Mem.*, p. xxxiii) and Skeat (I, p. xi) give the date as 1320.

states, show that "he was necessarily brought into business relations" with him, since Robert died at least four years before Richard was chosen an examiner of wines. Richard was not above suspicion himself, for in the *Assize Rolls* there is a presentment that Richard le Chaucer sold four butts of wine contrary to the assize, and was therefore amerced.³⁰

He, together with the Mayor and Sheriffs of London and others, was witness to a deed which was acknowledged in Chancery, June 7, 1325.³¹ It was shown on p. 55 that Richard married the wife of Robert le Chaucer, and that at the time of the abduction John had been in the wardship of Richard and Mary for one year. It has, therefore, not without reason, been assumed that this space of time represents their married life, and that they were married in 1323.³²

In his will, dated Oct. 13, 1328, and enrolled Dec. 6, Thomas de Evenefeld, pepperer, bequeathed to Andrew Aubrey, his leasehold interest in a tenement held under Richard le Chaucer and Mary, his wife, and Thomas, her son, near Sopereslane in the parish of St. Antonin.³³ By this we learn that Mary had a son named Thomas by a former husband. Who this Thomas was, appears from his own will, dated April 7, 1349,³⁴ in which he described himself as "citizen and vintner", and bequeathed all his tenements in the City of London to be sold "*per manus Johannis Chaucer, fratris mei*". On the Monday after Sts. Philip and James (May 1), 23 Edw. III., "John, brother of Thomas Hayron, and executor of the testament of the same Thomas", came and caused the testament to be proved by William Hayron, vintner, *et al.* As other records show the term "brother" is here used for "half-brother".

It is thus shown that Mary le Chaucer (*née* Westhale) was

³⁰ No. 547, m. 37, 14 Edw. II., 1321. Kirk, *N. & Q.*, 10 S., IV, p. 5. Not in *L. R.*

³¹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 18 Edw. II., m. 5 d.; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 141; E. G. Atkinson, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 210.

³² Skeat, I, p. xi.

³³ *Husting Rolls*, 56, No. 155; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 143; R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, I, 340. See map.

³⁴ *Husting Rolls*, 76, No. 169; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 149; *Trial Forewords*, 134; Nicolas, 119; R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, I, 544.

married at least three times; first, to John Heyroun,³⁵ by whom she had a son named Thomas who died in 1349; second, previous to July 8, 1307, to Robert le Chaucer, by whom she had John and Isabella (?) Chaucer; and finally to Richard le Chaucer, presumably in 1323. These relations are confirmed by several succeeding records (see pp. 78, 89).³⁶ There is a likelihood that all three husbands were connected with the wine trade: the third husband, the second and his son, and the son of the first certainly were, as was also the witness to the will, William Hayron. Mary is said by Mr. Redstone (p. 190) to have died in 1328; this would seem to be at variance with the last two records in the abduction trial, 1330, which summon Richard and Mary to court. It is, however, certain that she died before April 12, 1349, and that she was buried in the church of St. Mary Aldermary (cf. p. 78).

Thomas de Bamburgh, parson of a moiety of the church of Elnestowe, diocese of Lincoln, on Dec. 29, 1318, acknowledged that he owed to Mary Heyron ten pounds, to be levied, etc., of his lands and chattels in co. Bedford. The deed is marked *Cancelled on payment*.³⁷ On March 12, 1319, Mary Heyron put in her place Ralph de Ellyngton, chaplain, and Henry de Oggel to sue the execution of a recognisance in chancery for ten pounds made to her by the same Thomas de Bamburgh.³⁸ It is probable that these records do not refer to the Mary Heyron who was the wife of Robert and Richard Chaucer, since if such was the case she would probably have been termed Mary Chaucer. It is worthy of note, however, that the name

³⁵ Redstone, *op. cit.*, Appendix B.

³⁶ Speght knew of Richard's will; and the entire relationship, exclusive of Robert, was fully set forth, with references to the documents upon which it was based, by Nicolas (119), who, however, not knowing of Robert, regarded John as the son of Richard (p. 46). For a curious confusion between Thomas Heyroun and his father see Skeat (Bohn), 16, note 1: "This Maria was twice married, her first husband being named Heroun or Heyroun, whose will is dated April 7, 1349, his executor being his half-brother John Chaucer, the poet's father".

³⁷ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 12 Edw. II., m. 18 d. (new).

³⁸ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 12 Edw. II., m. 12 d. (new).

Mary Heyron is not a common one in the records, and that the events took place between the death of Robert and her marriage with Richard.

By a deed dated April 30, 1339, Thomas Heyroun, citizen and vintner of London, released to Richard Chaucer, also citizen and vintner, a tenement with cellars, etc., given him by John de Amyens, citizen and saddler, and his wife, in the parish of St. Michael of Paternosterchurch, in the Ward of Vintry, abutting on Kyronlane, the royal street called la Rirole, etc. John Chaucer was one of the witnesses. A repetition of the release, dated May 23, is also extant; and on July 7, Joan de Bercote released to Richard Chaucer all her right of dower in the above mentioned tenement.³⁹ Further notice of Thomas will be made in connection with John Chaucer. There was a John Malyn of Amiens who was a merchant in 1318,⁴⁰ and when it is remembered that the Chaucers were often known as Malyns, that Robert le Chaucer was called Robert the Saddler, and that the title was also applied to a Richard Malyn (p. 131), it seems not unlikely that John de Amyens may have been a Malyn and a relative of the Chaucers (cf. p. 125).

On Ash Wednesday, 1340, the King's clerk came to the Guildhall and announced on the King's behalf to Andrew Aubrey, Mayor, that he and all the aldermen, with the more discreet and wealthy men of the City, were to be before the King and his Council at Westminster, on the Thursday following, for certain arduous matters touching the estate of the King and the whole realm of England. Upon their appearance before the King he told them of the charges laid out and to be laid out by him in his war in parts beyond the sea and requested from them a loan of 20,000 *l.* for a certain term. They asked for time in which to discuss the matter among themselves, and on the next day, through the Earls of Huntingdon and Warwick and others, they offered 5,000 marks, which he altogether rejected, commanding them to take better counsel as

³⁹ *Husting Rolls*, 66, Nos. 41, 42, 88; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 145; *Trial Forewords*, 134; *Acad.*, V, 147. See page 78, and the map. *L. R.* wrongly has "June 7".

⁴⁰ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 12 Edw. II., m. 26 d. (new).

to the matter aforesaid, or else to bring the names of all the more wealthy men of the City in writing before him on the following Sunday, in order that he and his Council might assess them at the required sum of 20,000 *l.* On Sunday, a little after sunrise, the Mayor, Aldermen, and "an immense Commonalty" assembled in the Guildhall, and, to avoid the King's indignation and other perils,—although it was a hard thing and difficult to do—they, by unanimous consent, agreed to grant 5,000 *l.* to their Lord the King, provided the King would find sufficient security for repayment. Sir John Pulteney, Andrew Aubrey, and Roger de Depham went to the King; and in order to learn the wishes of their Lord the King as to such an offer, whether the same were pleasing to him or not, informed him of this grant, which he accepted, and amiably commended his citizens. On the same day twelve men were elected and sworn to assess the said sum without favour or malice. Their assessment is set out, and includes:

William de Caustone	400 <i>l.</i>
John de Oxenford.....	300 <i>l.</i>
Simon Fraunceys	300 <i>l.</i>
Andrew Aubrey, Mayor.....	100 <i>l.</i>
Richard Chaucer	10 <i>l.</i> ⁴¹

In all 232 names. The largest sum assessed upon any person was 400 *l.* The record bears testimony to the importance of Richard's social position in the City.

There is no more interesting document in the *Life Records* than the preceding, bearing testimony as it does to the wealth and importance of Richard Chaucer, and also to the methods of high finance which were practised by the kings of the fourteenth century. There is in it very little of the legal confusion common to such documents, but it reads almost like a page from Froissart, and the characters stand out clearly before the imagination. The prudent, timid burghers requesting time to consider, and then offering about one-sixth of the

⁴¹ *Letter-Book F*, ff. 32b—34; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 146. Riley (*Mem.*, pp. xxxiii, 208) has a full account of the proceedings; he puts Ash Wed. on April 12, while Mr. Kirk dates his record Mar. 1. My account has been taken mainly from the *Life Records*.

amount demanded; the King refusing the offer and ironically commanding them, "on their faith and allegiance, to take better counsel"; the hurried gathering of the Mayor and the people, "a little after sunrise", when, "to avoid the King's indignation and other perils", they agree, "although it was a hard thing and difficult to do", to raise their original offer to one-fourth of what the King had demanded, "provided that the King would find sufficient security for repayment"; the King's gracious acceptance of the offer and "amiable commendation" of his citizens. One cannot help wondering if the citizens really insisted upon the "sufficient security" and if the father of the Black Prince did not smile to himself as he "commended" his worthy citizens for doing what he had compelled them to do. Or was he glad to get even one-fourth of what he had demanded?

On Oct. 6, 1341, Richard le Chaucer was recognized by the King as deputy to the King's Butler, Reymund Seguyn, in the Port of London, and in Seguyn's name was to receive and collect the custom of 2 *s.* from every tun of wine brought in by the foreigners, and 12 *d.* from every pipe of wine.⁴² Compare this office with those held by Robert in 1308 and 1310. On Nov. 22, 1342, Seguyn or Richard Chaucer, "supplying his place in the port of London", and John de Wynwyk, the king's serjeant at arms, who were "appointed to arrest all lords, masters, and mariners of ships which were arrested for the king's passage and did not come, in that port, together with the ships and the wine and all other things therein", were ordered to "dearrest without delay John Cotte of Dertemuth, his ship, and the mariners thereof with the freight and to permit John to cross where he will without finding any security", because the king had previously ordered all sheriffs, bailiffs, and the like to do no harm or arrest to John, because he had

⁴² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 15 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 9; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 335. For the record in which Seguyn appoints him deputy cf. *Warrants*, Chancery, Series I, file 1644; *Butlers' Warrants*; *L. R.*, IV, 335. The record is undated. Seguyn was appointed chief butler on Dec. 12, 1339 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 12-14 Edw. III., m. 6). Richard succeeded William Clapitus, burgess and vintner of London, as deputy (*Ibid.*, 14 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 36; 15 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 22; 20 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 24).

served the earl of Northampton with his ship.⁴³ Edward was carrying on the war in Brittany; Northampton set sail July, 1342, with a fleet of 360 vessels; Edward impressed whatever vessels he could and sailed on Oct. 23. For particulars see Mackinnon's *History of Edward the Third* (London, 1900), chapter XI. Pursuant to the above commission, a ship called *Cog Thomas*, John Boys of Dertemuth, master, with its cargo, was arrested, but was later released by order of the king (Nov. 24, Dec. 1, 1342), Oliver de Ingham, seneschal of Gascony, having testified that Boys took him from Brittany to Bordeaux in his last passage thither, for the safe conduct of the treasure then in Oliver's keeping. Other shipowners that had similar letters of release are Walter Gent, master of the *Seinte Marie Cogge* of Dertemuth, and William de Asshelden, also master of a *Seint Marie Cogge* of Dertemuth.⁴⁴

In addition to the records from the *Close Rolls* just mentioned, there are several others contained in these *Rolls* which refer to Richard's deputyship and which have been omitted from the *Life Records*. Those in which Richard is mentioned, either by name or implication, are as follows: a general order to dearrest under certain conditions all wines which he finds have been laded in Gascony (Dec. 18, 1342),⁴⁵ and orders to dearrest the following ships: *Swetebowe* of London, Richard Frend, master (Dec. 5, 1342), because the earl of Northampton had charged Frend to make provision of wine in Gascony for the earl's stay in Brittany and elsewhere;⁴⁶ *la Margerie* of London, Richard Wowere, master (Dec. 6, 1342), on account of a similar commission by the earl of Northampton;⁴⁷

⁴³ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 21 d. (new). Appendix, p. 148.

⁴⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. III, m. 10; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 336. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 21 d. (new); m. 8 d. (new). Appendix, p. 149.

⁴⁵ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 3 d. (new). Appendix, p. 150.

⁴⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 20 d. (new). Appendix, p. 150.

⁴⁷ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 20 d. (new). Appendix, p. 151.

la Gracedieu of Tyngemouth, Alexander Fairewedre, master, and *la cog Johan* of Hampton, Richard May, master (Dec. 18, 1342), because William de Cusancia, the treasurer, had freighted them to take victuals to Brittany for the maintenance of the king and his lieges there;⁴⁸ and finally an order to deliver to Arnold Osten, a merchant of Bordeaux, all his wines which they shall have found arrested in a ship called *la Swetebowe* of London (Dec. 20, 1342), which was laded in parts of Gascony and did not come to the king's passage as he had ordered, Osten not being the owner of the ship nor knowing of its delay.⁴⁹ Raymond and Richard were not able to guard the ships so captured, for in the *Close Rolls*⁵⁰ there is an order, dated Nov. 20, 1342, to the sheriffs of London to receive the ships, wine and sailors captured by Raymond, and keep them until further order, since he said that he did not suffice to guard them. Richard probably held this office until Oct. 16, 1343, when the chief butler's own son Raymond was appointed deputy in the port of London, and he in turn was succeeded by Henry del Strete on Nov. 16, 1345. The usual term of office appears to have been two years.⁵¹

There are several grants, which have as yet escaped notice, in which the clause is, "Raymond Seguyn, or him who supplies his place in the port of London", and which were made during Richard's term of office as deputy to Seguyn in the port of London. They have, I think, as much right to be regarded as of value as those in which Richard is mentioned by name—it is merely a case of the variation of a conventional clause. Three of these records have already been noticed on the preceding page; there are three others, according to which Seguyn or Chaucer is ordered to deliver a tun of wine yearly to Isabella de Helde (Nov. 2, 1341), and two tuns of wine

⁴⁸ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 3 d. (new). Appendix, p. 151.

⁴⁹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 7 (new). Appendix, p. 152.

⁵⁰ 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 11 (new). Appendix, p. 153.

⁵¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 17 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 22; 19 Edw. III., pt. III, m. 12. See p. 85.

yearly to William de Stokton, vicar of St. Paul's church, London⁵² (Nov. 8, 1341; Nov. 20, 1342).

Richard was witness to a couple of deeds, dated Dec. 20-1, 1341, relating to the release of a tenement in the parish of All Saints, Bredstrete, to Andrew Aubrey.⁵³ A tenement in the corner next London Bridge, at a place called the "Barres" in the parish of St. Olave of Suthewerk, was granted to Richard, Feb. 28, Mar. 1, 1344,⁵⁴ and in this same year he was witness to a deed.⁵⁵ John de Grantham, a prosperous citizen and pepperer of London, in his will, dated July 23, 1344, appointed him one of his executors.⁵⁶ He was witness to a deed, dated Sept. 8, 1345, relating to a tenement in the parish of St. Mary Aldermary, abutting on his shop and on Watling Street,⁵⁷

⁵² *Cal. Close Rolls*, 15 Edw. III., pt. III, mm. 19, 13; 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 15. See Appendix, pp. 153-4.

⁵³ *Ancient Deeds*, B. 1977, 1976; *Husting Rolls*, 69, Nos. 2, 3; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 147; E. G. Atkinson, *Ath.*, Feb. 18, 1899, 210.

⁵⁴ *Husting Rolls*, 71, Nos. 20, 21; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 147. *Trial Forewords* (p. 134) gives the dates as the first Sat. and Mon. respectively in April. *Acad.*, V, 47, has "first Sat. and Mon. in Apr. after Feb. 24". See p. 78.

⁵⁵ *Harl. Charters*, 48 E 10; Kirk, p. x, note 2.

⁵⁶ *Husting Rolls*, 72, No. 3; Kirk (*L. R.*, IV, 148) refers to *Trial Forewords*, 134, but without apparent reason. R. R. Sharpe (*Cal. Wills*, I, 475) gave the date as July 22. Grantham was a witness to the deeds in 1341 just mentioned.

⁵⁷ *Letter-Book F*, f. 110 b; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 148. Riley (*Mem.*, p. xxxiii) wrongly gave the *Letter-Book* reference as "f. 111". He furthermore said: "It seems rather doubtful whether Richard le Chaucer kept the shop, or only that the shop belonged to him. If the former, the locality (adjoining Cordwainer street) considered, he might possibly have been a Shoemaker, and in such case he would be merely owner of the tavern in Rirole * * * and not a Vintner himself". Mr. Riley has forgotten the many instances in which the name occurs as "Richard Chaucer, citizen and vintner". G. H. Ely (p. 14) said that "Richard may or may not have plied" the awl. Skeat (I, p. xiv) said that the shop was the tenement and tavern in La Reole Street, near Upper Thames Street, but reference to the map will show that this was impossible, since the latter was in the parish of St. Michael Paternosterchirche, Vintry Ward. Skeat has reversed the terms; it was a *tenement* abutting on a *shop* that was conveyed, not vice versa.

Andrew Aubrey, then Alderman of the Ward, being among the witnesses.

On Feb. 9, 1346, Walter de Chiriton, merchant and citizen of London, recognized that he owed Richard Chaucer, citizen and vintner of London, the sum of 420 *l.*, which he promised to pay in two portions of 220 and 200 *l.*, and as the *Roll* shows, he kept his promise.⁵⁸ On March 3, 1346, the same merchant acknowledged that he owed Richard eighty pounds, which was also paid.⁵⁹ The *Close* and *Patent Rolls* of the period are full of references to Chiriton, and show him to have been one of the wealthiest and most prominent figures of the time. A few references will serve by way of illustration,—thus, there are many orders to the collectors of customs in various ports throughout England to pay certain sums of money out of the receipts of the customs to Walter de Chiriton and others, “the king’s merchants, to whom he granted all the customs and subsidies in all the ports in the realm, except the custom of wine”, etc. On Feb. 14, 1347, Chiriton and others lent the king 40,000 marks,⁶⁰ and on June 16, 1350, having owed Edward III. large sums of money and having failed to pay them, he was forced to forfeit his lands and rent.⁶¹

In 1346 Richard was assessed 6 *l.* 1 *m.* as his portion of a gift and loan of 3,000 *m.* to the King, he being one of the assessors. A receipt from him of 10 *m.* (= 6 *l.*, 1 *m.*) is recorded.⁶² The four highest assessments were:

Simon Fraunceys	} 100 <i>l.</i>
Wm. de Caustone	
Richard de Rothyng	
Henry Darci	

⁵⁸ *Close Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 26 d.; *Acad.*, VIII, 247. Not in *L. R.*; see Appendix, p. 154.

⁵⁹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 20 d. (new). Appendix, p. 155.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 23 d.

⁶¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 24 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 21.

⁶² *Letter-Book F*, ff. 121-25; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 148; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiv.

Others of interest to us were:

Andrew Aubrey	43 l. 6 s. 8 d.
John Stodeye	40 s.
John Bokebyndere	}..... 20 s.
Herman the Skipper	

The lowest amount upon which an assessment could be made was 10 l., and the lowest sum paid 20 s.; but it could hardly be deduced from this that the rate of assessment was 2 s. to the pound, since this would be an excessive tax, and would make the wealth of such men as Fraunceys too small. It is worthy of mention that Richard paid over three times as much as John Stodeye, which, remembering Stodeye's position (p. 135), speaks well for Richard's wealth.

On Mar. 6, 1348, John Box released to Richard Chaucer two marks of yearly free and quit rent which he used to receive from Chaucer's newly built tenement at the corner of Kirounlane, in the parish of St. Michael of Paternostercherche, Wm. Heyroun being one of the witnesses.⁶³ Mrs. Haweis (pp. xvii, 14; *Belgravia*, XLVIII, 38) spoke of "Richard Chaucer of Cordwainer Street", and said that in 1348 he lived in his newly built tenement at the corner of Crown (Kyron) lane, which he built himself. I can find no authority for any one of the three statements. In 1326 Richard and Mary dwelt in Cordwanerstrete Ward, but there is no proof that they lived upon Cordwanerstrete.⁶⁴ Nor can I find any proof that he later dwelt in the Crown lane house, or that he built it. She seems unaware of the fact that Cordwainer street and Crown lane are in different wards.

The last record relating to him is fittingly enough his will, dated April 12, 1349.⁶⁵ In this he directed that he be buried in

⁶³ *Husting Rolls*, 75, No. 33; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 149; *Trial Forewords*, 134; *Acad.*, V, 147 (cf. p. 78). See map.

⁶⁴ Others who have apparently confused the "ward" and the "strete" are Skeat (I, p. x) and Kirk (*L. R.*, IV, pp. vii, xiii).

⁶⁵ *Husting Rolls*, 77, No. 59; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 149; *Trial Forewords*, 134; R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, I, 590; Nicolas, 119; Riley, *Mem.*, pp. xxxiv-v; *Addit. Charters*; E. J. L. Scott, *Ath.*, Dec. 25, 1880, 866.

the church of St. Mary Aldermary, and bequeathed to the said church "his tenement with tavern in the street called la Rirole upon the corner of Kyrounlane, in order that they may present and find a fit chaplain to celebrate a mass of *requiem* daily for the souls of himself, Mary, formerly his wife, and of Thomas Heyroun, her son, in the said church * * * next the tomb of the said Mary". The chaplain is to receive six *m.* "yearly forever". Forty shillings from the said tenement, and the income from a tenement over London Bridge next "les Stouples"⁶⁶ upon the corner towards Southwark, are bequeathed to the church of St. Michael of Paternostercherche for the same purpose. Any residue from the profits of the tenements was to be employed upon the fabrics of the churches. Among the executors is Richard de Mallyng, for whom see page 131 following.

Since Richard directed that he be buried in this church, and since his wife was buried there, and he made a bequest for prayers there for himself, and wife, and step-son, it is most probable that his directions were carried out. Stow (p. 95) states him to have been buried there. Mr. Riley (*Mem.*, p. xxxiv) quoted Stow as saying that a Richard Chaucer was among those buried in the Chapel of the Hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark. Considering the nearness of this church to his property in Southwark, Mr. Riley thought it possible that Richard's instructions might have been disobeyed, and that he was actually buried in the Chapel of St. Thomas.⁶⁷

As has been already noticed, this will was known to Speght, Urry, Nicolas, &c., who saw in it that Richard was either the

⁶⁶ Low stone posts in front of the Bridge gate there. R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, I, 591, note 1. See note 54.

⁶⁷ Cf. Stow, *Survey*, 154; 457 (1633); II, 22 (1755). The last ref. spells the name "Chaunar". Mrs. Haweis does not definitely state his burial place, but notes that he "had a monument in the Church of St. Thomas's Hospital, as only a well-to-do man would have had". Skeat (I, p. xiv) gives St. Mary Aldermary as his burial place, and Morley (II, pt. I, 142, 1867; V, 86) adds that he was buried "near to one end of the street in which he lived". For location of the church, cf. Hutton, *Literary Landmarks of London*, N. Y., 1903, p. 45.

father or grandfather of the poet, and that Mary had previous to her marriage with Richard been the wife of a person named Heyroun, by whom she had a son named Thomas. Until Mr. Rye's discovery of John's true father, it had always been hard to understand why, if Richard were John's father, he did not mention him in his will (see p. 42). That his step-father failed to do this is not quite so strange, and is furthermore explained by supposing that at that time John was fairly prosperous.⁶⁸ John was at this time about thirty-six years old and had been married several years (p. 93), and as his wife brought him considerable property (p. 101), the inference is probably correct. The strangeness of the omission is lessened still more by the fact that no one else is mentioned therein.

The will was dated April 12 and was proved July 20 of the same year; hence Richard may have died at any time between those dates. The will of Thomas Heyroun was dated just five days before Richard's, and proved in the Hustings Court as early as May 4 (p. 68). They are, therefore, supposed to have died during the first great and most fatal pestilence,⁶⁹ but Mr. Kirk (p. xi) showed that, since the pestilence did not begin until May 31, only Richard's death can be ascribed to that cause. It is probable that the date of Thomas's death can be placed between April 7-12, since Richard in his will included his soul, but not John's, among those who were to be prayed for. Richard is said by Speght to have been the probable father of Elizabeth Chaucer, a nun at St. Helen's, but the view has never been repeated to any extent.⁷⁰

On Nov. 12, 1336, the Coroner and Sheriffs were informed "that one Simon Chaucer lay dead of another death than his own in the rent (*redd*) of Richard Chaucer, his brother, in

⁶⁸ W. Rye, *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 165; H. R. Haweis, *Belgravia*, XLVIII, 39; Pollard, 4; Skeat, I, p. xiv.

⁶⁹ Stow, *Survey*, 95; H. R. Haweis, 14; *Belgravia*, XLVIII, 39; Skeat, I, p. xiv; *Prioress' Tale*, &c., p. vii. Urry; *Biog. Brit.*, III, 451, note A; J. Bell, I, p. viii, note; E. Sanford, *British Poets*, Phila., 1819, 8; Chalmers, *English Poets*, London, 1810, I, p. iii; *Dublin Univ. Mag.*, LIII, 54, state that he died in 1348. Morley (II, pt. I, 142, 1867) stated that he died in 1349, but was buried in 1348.

⁷⁰ *Dublin Univ. Mag.*, LIII, 274. Cf. pp. 18, 35, 142.

the parish of St. Mary of Aldermarichirche, in the ward of Cordwanerstrete". The inquest developed the fact that, during the preceding month, Simon had quarrelled with and wounded a neighbor upon the upper lip, whereupon the wounded man's son, without the consent of his father, had smitten Simon upon the left hand, side and head with a "dor-barre", of which injuries Simon had, "withouten any doute", later died. The Sheriffs attached the four nearest neighbors, Richard Chaucer being among them.⁷¹ This is the Simon Malyn referred to on page 124 as having received the name Chaucer upon his residence in Cordwanerstrete Ward. At the trial which followed the murderer was pardoned upon the plea of self-defence.⁷²

Richard thus appears to have been a citizen of no mean importance. He was among the vintners chosen to inspect the wines of the City; was classed among "the more wealthy men" of the City, and twice assessed for loans to the King, having been one of the assessors on one occasion; and was an active deputy to the King's Butler in London. The debts of 420 *l.* and 80 *l.* (5,000-10,000 *l.*) which were owed him would indicate that he was well-to-do, and it is known that he owned property in Ipswich, tenements in three different parishes in London, a shop in another, and a tavern in one of the others.

It seems likely that the "newly built tenement at the corner of Kirounlane", referred to in 1348, is not the same as the tenement with cellars, solars, &c., abutting on Kyron lane and Royal street, mentioned in 1339; for the latter would hardly have been termed "newly built" in 1348, especially since it was deeded to Richard by Thomas Heyroun, who in turn had it of John de Amyens and his wife. The number of his tenements may therefore be raised to four. It is possible, however, that the 1348 tenement was built upon the location of the 1339 one, since the former is described as upon the corner of Kirounlane, while the latter abutted "on Kyronlane, the royal street, &c." The description of the tenement and the tavern bequeathed in

⁷¹ *City of London Records, Coroner's Roll*, F, No. 4; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 144; see p. 81.

⁷² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 13 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 1 (new). Appendix, p. 155.

the will corresponds with the 1339 house more closely than with that of 1348, though it is the latter which is usually regarded as the one bequeathed (cf. Kirk, p. x).

Richard's residence in London cannot be accurately fixed, but the evidence points toward the parish of St. Mary Aldermarychurch, Cordwanerstrete Ward. At the time of the trial Richard, Mary, and John were living in this ward, and at the inquest held over Simon in the above parish, Richard was one of the four nearest neighbors who were attached by the Sheriffs (p. 80). If this be true, we must add another tenement to his possessions, unless we suppose him to have lived in his shop (p. 75); for none of the tenements mentioned in the *Records* are in that parish. The tenement and tavern bequeathed in his will have also been regarded as his residence;⁷³ and it is quite possible that he may have moved from Cordwanerstrete Ward to that of the Vintry. He was in touch with not only the vintners but also the pepperers of London. His dealings with Andrew Aubrey and Wm. de Thorneye have been noticed elsewhere (p. 136); and in addition to these may be noted his relations with Thomas de Evenefeld (p. 68) and John de Grantham (p. 75). Nicholas Chaucer was also a pepperer (p. 30).

⁷³ Urry; *Biog. Brit.*, III, 451, note A; J. Bell, I, p. viii, note; Morley, *Eng. Lit.*, 108. Morley (V, 86) said that he lived in Cordwanerstrete.

V.

THE PARENTS OF CHAUCER.

The father of the poet figured quite prominently in the third chapter and it will be useless to repeat the facts there related concerning him. His connection with Ipswich has been abundantly proved, and there are many instances recorded of visits which he paid to Ipswich when he made suit at the various courts of the borough.¹ Mr. Redstone has the following to say of his relation to the town:

“ His intimacy with the various members of the Stace family was one of great familiarity; he named his son, the poet, in honour of his own uncle Geoffrey Stace, and in return the grandson of Agnes Stace was called John after him. Doubtless when he visited the King at Walton, 12th June, 1338, and received royal letters of protection to accompany the King to parts beyond the sea, he received honest welcome from his Ipswich kinsfolk, among them a merchant ‘with forked beard, upon his heed a Flaundrish bever hat’; who

‘ . . . wolde the sea were kepud for eny thinge
Bitwixe Middulburgh and Orewelle’.

“ If the poet were too young in 1344 to have accompanied his father to Ipswich, he may have visited it in his later years and have heard from “mine hosts” of the taverns in the Vintry, tales of romance and daring in which his forebears had their share; of the attack on the rapacious miller of Bramford by the Malyns and the Staces; of their poaching by night in the fish-stews of Christiana de Muse at Brokes Hall. The sober minded friars, the rubicund cooks, the humble chaplains and palmers, the self-made burgesses who vexed the poor townsfolk, one and

¹ Redstone, *op. cit.*, 191.

all had found hospitality and welcome in the homes of Chaucer's kinsfolk" (p. 192).

Turning to the records which tell of his life in London, we first hear of him in the instance just alluded to, when on June 12, 1338, he obtained royal letters of protection, good until Christmas, being about to go with the King, in the King's service and by the King's command, to parts beyond the sea.² Similar protections were issued to many other persons, some going with the King, some with the Queen, some with the Earl of Derby, &c. The occasion was the expedition of Edward III. to Antwerp, whither he sailed with a fleet, July 16, 1338, to begin the war with France and gain the aid of his German and Flemish allies. It was during this trip that Prince Lionel was born, into whose service the poet later entered. This is the statement concerning John which is most often repeated, and its importance lies in the fact that it is the first notice of the direct connection of the house of Chaucer with the Court. John's name heads the list; among the other names are those of Henry Picard (p. 90, note 31) and John Heroun, the latter of whom was a resident of Cordwanerstrete Ward and figured in the John le Chaucer murder case. He cannot have been the first husband of Mary de Westhale, as Morley at first thought, because in 1308 Mary had married Robert le Chaucer; it is, however, probable that both he and William Heyron were related to the John Heyroun who married Mary de Westhale.³

Several unwarranted assertions, some of which are plainly false, have been made with regard to the expedition. Certain scholars saw in it the origin of Geoffrey's position in Prince Lionel's household and his later advancement in royal circles.⁴

² *Almain Roll*, 12 Edw. III., pt. 1, m. 8; Rymer's *Foedera*, V, 51 (II, pt. IV, 23; II, pt. II, 1042, *Gt. Brit. Rec. Com.*); Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 145; Skeat, I, p. xv; Nicolas, 120; Lounsbury, I, 14. Mrs. Haweis (*Belgravia*, XLVIII, 39) incorrectly made the King to be Edw. II. For similar letters granted to Geoffrey cf. Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 180, 201, 205, 215.

³ Morley II, pt. I, 146 (1867). Wm. Heroun, p. 134; John Heyroun, p. 23.

⁴ Urry; J. M. D. Meiklejohn, 7; R. Morris, *Prol.*, p. v; Morris-Skeat, *Prol.*, p. v; Skeat, *Prol.*, p. vi; *Student's Chaucer*, p. ix; Moody and Lovett, *English Literature*, N. Y., 1903, p. 35; F. N. Paton, *Chaucer*,

Another writer stated that Geoffrey accompanied his father, and at that time first attracted the attention of the King and Queen.⁵ How John came to attract the King's notice, or what was the nature of his "service", is not known, but it has been supposed, though without sufficient evidence, that he was connected with the commissariat.⁶ Mr. Minto confused this expedition with that of the poet in 1359.

On April 30 and May 23, 1339, John was witness to a deed and release by Thomas Heyroun to Richard Chaucer (p. 70). On Aug. 1, 1342, there was made an ordinance prohibiting the sale of bad wine in the taverns, and ordering the vintners' wine vessels to be always open to inspection.⁷ Among the fifteen vintners present and consenting was John Chaucer. He was thus a vintner by trade when twenty-nine years of age. He was witness to a deed in 1344.⁸

On Feb. 12, 1347, the king's serjeant, John de Wesenham, who succeeded Raymond Seguyn as chief butler,⁹ named John Chaucer as his deputy in the port of Southampton (John Chausere) and in the ports of Cicestre, Seford, Shorham, and Portsmouth (John Chaucier), and ordered him to collect two shillings on each tun and twelve pence on each pipe of wine imported by merchant strangers into those ports.¹⁰ See the similar order to Richard in 1341 (p. 72), and Robert's position

N. Y., 1888, p. xx; Jusserand, 270; Tuckwell, *Chaucer*, London, 1904, p. 11; Winship, *Chaucer*, Boston, 1900, p. 22. A. M. Van Dyke (*Prologue and Knight's Tale*, N. Y., 1898, p. 5) saw evidence of social standing in the record.

⁵ Cf. Ward, 49 (name of writer is not given); Geoffrey was probably unborn at that time.

⁶ Morley, II, pt. I, 146 (1867); W. Minto, 449; *Ath.*, Apr. 7, 1877, 447 (Furnivall, *Ath.*, Mar. 31, 1877, 417); Jusserand, 270; A. Hall, *N. & Q.*, 9 S., V, 146; Moody & Lovett, *English Literature*, N. Y., 1903, p. 35.

⁷ *Letter-Book F*, f. 63; Riley, *Mem.* 213; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 147; Jusserand (p. 270, note) wrongly refers to Riley, p. 211.

⁸ *Close Rolls*, 18 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 25 d.; Kirk, p. xi.

⁹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 18; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., pt. III, m. 6. For Seguyn see pp. 72-5.

¹⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 29 (new). Appendix, p. 155.

(p. 65). That John Chausere and John Chaucier are identical is shown by the following record, dated April 28, 1347, in which Wesenham appoints John Chaucier his deputy in the ports of Cicestre, Seford, Shorham, Portsmouth, and Southampton (note the combination of the ports of "John Chausere" and "John Chaucier") for the collection of the customs on woolen goods made in England for export.¹¹ In both instances John de Stodeye is named as deputy for the port of London.

John probably succeeded Robert Bonyngg, who on Oct. 18, 1346, was appointed by Reymund Seguy to be his deputy in the ports of Cicestre, Seford, Shorham, and Portsmouth, and to collect the 2 s. in the tun and the 12 d. in the pipe due to the king on wine imported by merchant strangers.¹² His own probable successor was John de Modeshunte, whom John de Wesenham appointed his deputy in the ports of Cicestre, Seford, Shorham, Portsmouth, and Southampton, on Oct. 29, 1349.¹³ John therefore was deputy from Feb. 12, 1347, to Oct. 29, 1349,—somewhat over two years (cf. p. 74). Wesenham was followed in the office of chief butler by Henry Picard on Sept. 29, 1350.¹⁴ Both Wesenham and Picard were notable figures in the London of the middle of the fourteenth century, and played a prominent part in assisting the king in his financial affairs, as numerous records in both the *Close* and *Patent Rolls* testify.

Cicestre, Seford, Shorham, and Portsmouth were usually classed together, one deputy being appointed for all four ports, and quite frequently Southampton was included with them. The latter, however, was a more important port than any of the preceding four and was quite often mentioned alone, having a special deputy. We see the intermediate stage in the first appointment of John Chaucer, where the port is mentioned separately from the other four, but has the same deputy. It was one of a limited number of ports from which exports were allowed to be shipped to foreign countries. Just as the

¹¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 15 (new). Appendix, p. 156.

¹² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., pt. 3, m. 22.

¹³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 23 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 18.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 24 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 9.

ports were usually served by one deputy, as in the case of John Chaucer, so too was it customary for the same deputy to collect both the customs on wines imported by merchant strangers and also the customs on woolen goods exported from English shores. During John's deputyship there were rumors of goods being smuggled out of certain ports with the duty on them unpaid, and special officers were detailed to watch the various ports, Southampton being among them. John is not known, however, to have taken any part in these proceedings.¹⁵

No records have been found addressed to "John de Wesenham, the king's butler, or to John Chaucer, supplying his place in the port of Southampton", but there are several which begin with the formula, "To John de Wesenham, the king's butler, or to him who supplies his place in the port of Southampton", and which are dated within the period of John Chaucer's deputyship. These are at least worthy of mention, since it is almost certain that the task of carrying out the orders fell to John Chaucer. The first of these, dated Feb. 3, 1347, orders the above mentioned persons to deliver to the abbot of the monastery of Waverle, of the Cistercian order, a tun of red wine, "in accordance with the king's grant to the abbot and convent of that place of a tun of such wine to be received yearly in that port for the celebration of masses in their monastery for the souls of all the faithful departed". The same order was repeated on Jan. 26, 1348.¹⁶ The first record is followed by a similar one for the prior of St. Denys near Southampton, bearing the date Feb. 20, 1347.¹⁷

In like fashion, on March 4, 1347, and Feb. 4, 1348, Wesenham, or he "who supplies his place in the town of Southampton", was ordered to deliver a tun of wine to the abbot and convent of Edward Lettele, in accordance with a grant to them by Henry III. of a tun of such wine to be received yearly at Southampton between Christmas and the Purification for the

¹⁵ For the records upon which the preceding statements are based, see *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 23 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 18; pt. I, m. 16 d.; m. 28 d.; 24 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 26.

¹⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 30 (new); 22 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 35 (new); Appendix, pp. 157-8.

celebration of masses.¹⁷ The abbot and convent of King's Beaulieu have similar orders, dated April 9, 1347, and Jan. 28, 1348.¹⁸

On Sept. 4, 1348, the collectors of the customs on woolen cloths in the port of Southampton, one of whom was John Chaucer, were ordered to allow certain burgesses of Southampton to lade the cloth bought by them in that town and take it thence to the ports of Gascony, after paying the customs due thereon.¹⁹ A similar order to the same collectors in favour of Thomas atte Grene of London is dated Sept. 3, 1348.¹⁹ For records in which John Chaucer was probably concerned, but where no direct reference is made to him, see *Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 20; 22 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 39 (Isabel de Lancastria). There are in the *Close Rolls*, 1347-48, several orders to the collectors of customs at Cicestre, Seford, etc., but these have not been included since they are either too general ("collectors of customs"), or else refer to the collectors of customs on wool, wool-fells, and hides; John's duties were concerned with woolen cloths made for export and wines imported by merchant strangers.

The discovery of these records comes very opportunely to clear up what has hitherto been rather obscure and more or less a matter for conjecture. Mr. Kirk in the *Life Records* has only one record referring to John's deputyship,²⁰ which is undated, and according to which John de Wesenham (no description of his office) deposes John Chaucer to be his deputy for the collection of the customs on cloths in the same ports as those given above. The records just referred to give us the date, the description of John de Wesenham's office, and full particulars of the appointment. They also confirm the hitherto unverified reference made by Nicolas (p. 120) to two appointments of John Chaucer as deputy to the King's Butler in the

¹⁷ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 30 (new); 22 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 39 (new). Appendix, p. 158.

¹⁸ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 19 (new); 22 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 38 (new); 21 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 38. Appendix, p. 159.

¹⁹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 19 (new). Appendix, p. 159.

²⁰ *Warrants, Chancery*, Series I, file 1644; *Butlers' Warrants*; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 336.

port of Southampton, in *Writs of the Privy Seal*, dated Feb. and Nov., 1348. Upon the authority of Nicolas he is said to have afterwards held the office of Deputy to the King's Butler in the port of London. The two records also support the references in *Hunter's MSS.* (*Addit. MS.* 24,513) to a receipt by Adam Inveys (?), receiver of duties on wines from Guienne in the port of Southampton, for 20 *l.* from John Chaucer, lieutenant in the said port of John de Wesenham, Chief Butler, in 22 Edw. III., 1348; and also to three writs to John de Wesenham or his lieutenant in 21 Edw. III. This John Chaucer has not been definitely accepted by all as the poet's father, but I do not think that there is ground for any reasonable doubt of the relation.²¹

Another hitherto unnoticed record referring to John is his appointment on July 20, 1347, together with John de Stodeye and ten others, "to arrest all persons prosecuting appeals in derogation of the judgment of the court of Common Bench, whereby the king recovered his presentation to the prebend of Sutton, in the church of St. Mary, Lincoln, against Baldrac de Malebayle, 'Lumbard', and his collation of the same to Thomas de Brembre, the king's clerk; and to bring them at once before the council with all the appeals, bulls, or other things prejudicial to the king's rights herein found with them".²²

Mention has already been made of John as executor of the will of his half-brother, Thomas Heyroun. In accord with its provisions, on May 13, 1349, he sold to Wm. de Thorneye, citizen and pepperer, all that shop which Thomas had in the parish of St. Antonin, abutting on Wattling Street on the north, Wm. Hayron being one of the witnesses.²³ Thorneye did not

²¹ Nicolas (p. 120) did not identify him with the father of the poet, but with the John Chaucer who accompanied Edw. III. in 1338. Mr. Kirk (p. xi) does not definitely accept him as the poet's father. Mrs. Haweis (*Belgravia*, XLVIII, 39) wrongly has 1349. P. W. Ames (*Life and Characteristics of Chaucer*, London, 1900, p. 147) and F. N. Paton (*Chaucer*, N. Y., 1888, p. xx) attribute the poet's position at Court to this earlier official position of his father.

²² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 10 d. (new). Appendix, p. 160.

²³ *Husting Rolls*, 76, No. 190; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 150.

hold the shop for any length of time, since his will, in which the shop was mentioned, was dated June 20, 1349,²⁴ and enrolled in the Hustings slightly over a month later.

On June 30, 1349, John conveyed a tenement in the parish of St. Mary Alder-marichirche, which Thomas had bequeathed to be sold, to Andrew Aubrey, then Alderman of Cordwaner-strete Ward, the deed of release being dated July 13.²⁵ The deed bears additional evidence as to the relation of John to Thomas and their occupation: "*Johannes Chaucer, civis et vinetarius Londonie, executor testamenti Thome Hayroun, fratris mei, quondam civis et vinetarii Londonie*". The tenements were mentioned in Aubrey's will, which was dated Oct. 3, 1349, and enrolled May 10, 1358.²⁶ On Aug. 21, 1375, John Aubrey, executor, son, and heir of Andrew Aubrey, sold to ten men "all those tenements which his father had of the grant and sale of John Chauser, brother and executor of Thomas Heyron, formerly citizen and vintner in the parish of St. Mary of Alder-mariechirch".²⁷ Further notice of them occurs on Dec. 1-14, 1388, when they appear to have been the property of Sir John de Montagu (Monte Acuto) and Matilda, his wife, formerly wife of John Aubrey.²⁸ At that time they consisted of one tenement and four shops of the tenement, abutting on Wattleing Street on the south.

On July 16, 1349, John Chausey received a gift of 6 s. 8 d.

²⁴ *Husting Rolls*, 77, No. 141; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 150; R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, I, 603, 649.

²⁵ *Husting Rolls*, 77, Nos. 89, 90; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 150-1; Nicolas, 119. Dr. Furnivall (*Trial Forewords*, 135) regarded the deed of release as the sale of another part of Heyroun's lands. Skeat (I, p. xiv, note 19) was unable to understand the date, July 13. The error was made by Nicolas, who, although he gave the correct date, failed to distinguish between the day of St. Thomas the Martyr and the day of his Translation, and thus wrote, "Monday after the Feast of St. Thomas the Martyr (13th of July)". The day of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr is July 7, which in 1349 fell on Tuesday, and therefore the Monday after it would be July 13. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, LVI, 170.

²⁶ *Husting Rolls*, 86, No. 143; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 151. R. R. Sharpe (*Cal. Wills*, II, 1) refers to *Husting Rolls* as No. 43 (cf. p. 136).

²⁷ *Husting Rolls*, 103, No. 180; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 195.

²⁸ *Husting Rolls*, 117, Nos. 75-79; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 273.

from Queen Philippa for bringing to her at Devizes (co. Wiltshire) a black palfrey from the Bishop of Salisbury (Robert Wyvill).²⁹ Mr. Kirk (p. xi) indulges in a slight "Godwinism" when he says that this John "is not at all unlikely" the father of the poet. "He may have absented himself from London at this time in order to avoid the pestilence; and if so he would no doubt take with him his wife Agnes and his young son Geoffrey, who may have been presented to the Queen on this occasion". I do not know upon what grounds Mr. Kirk bases his suggestion—he gives none save the document itself—but it seems to me that the phrase "is not at all likely" would be nearer the truth. The similarity of their names does not constitute a reason for connecting the two persons. Not only was Chausey a somewhat common name at that time, as anyone may see by examining the Indices of the *Roll Series*, but the form John Chausy also occurs several times in the records of this period. Furthermore, Chausey as a variant for Chaucer is, so far as we know, confined to John of Gaunt's references to Geoffrey and Philippa (p. 12). There is no apparent reason why John should be likely to do such a thing: his Court services as shown in the *Records* are limited to one and that in an unknown capacity, and the records which relate to him tell almost exclusively of such unromantic proceedings as the conveyances of houses and lots, not of receiving rewards from the hands of a fair and gracious Queen for duty faithfully done. I should therefore prefer to make the identification possible, but not at all probable.

Some tenements and free rents in London and Middlesex, formerly owned by Hamo de Copton, are released to John Chaucer by a third party, Nov. 11, 1349,³⁰ and on Sept. 14, 1352, John and others are witnesses to a deed to Henry Picard, vintner, Sheriff and Mayor of London.³¹

²⁹ *Exchequer T. R. Miscellaneous Books*, No. 205, p. 13; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 151, note 1; *Wardrobe Book in the Rolls House*; Nicolas, 120.

³⁰ *Husting Rolls*, 77, No. 246; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 151; *Trial Forewords*, 135.

³¹ *Letter-Book F*, f. 216; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 151; Riley, *Mem.*, p. xxxiv. Skeat (I, p. xv, note 26) wrongly refers to Riley as p. xxxiii. For Henry Picard cf. Stow, *Survey*, 41, 189.

The first mention of John's wife is in 1354. On April 3 of that year, John Chaucer and Agnes, his wife, granted to Simon de Plaghe and Joan, his wife, all that brewing tenement with houses, buildings, and garden adjacent, and two shops and solars, in Algatestrete, London, in the parish of St. Botolph, which tenement formerly belonged to Hamo de Copton, uncle of Agnes and descended to her by hereditary right.³² Two indistinct seals, which will be noticed later, are attached to the deed. Simon and Joan, on Jan. 12, 1357, granted the tenements, etc., to William le Fournier,³³ whose executors, on Aug. 8, 1363, granted them to still other parties.³⁴ The tenement is here described as "without Aldgate", and in the *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* the following note is appended to the deed. "These nine charters, A 1595-1603, relate to a tenement in Algates strete without Algate in which Nicholas Sylvester, butcher, now lives". Could there be any relation between this Sylvester and the Silvester who owned "*seldae*" in Ipswich in 1280 (p. 60)?

The first of these records serves to introduce us to a number of varying statements made with regard to John's wife, and as the later records do not contribute anything to the discussion, the question will be treated here before proceeding farther.

The almost universal statement is that it is shown by records that she must have been married to John by 1349.³⁵ It is

³² *Ancient Deeds*, A. 1603; *Husting Rolls*, 82, No. 71; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 152; *Ath.*, Dec. 13, 1873, 772; *Trial Forewords*, 135. The name is given as Compton by Morley, V, 86, 95; Lounsbury, I, 13; Pollard, 4; *Globe ed.*, p. xv; *Prol.*, p. xii; F. J. Snell, 123; as Clopton or Copton by A. Hall, *N. & Q.*, 9 S., V, 146. Coptone's (*sic*) will was dated Dec. 6, 1329, and entered on the *Husting Rolls*, 58, No. 80, in July, 1330. He had a wife named Alice, two sons named John and Nicholas, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Botolph without Aldgate. No mention is made of Agnes in the will (cf. R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, I, 360, 600).

³³ *Ancient Deeds*, A. 602; *Husting Rolls*, 84, No. 126; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 152; *Trial Forewords*, 135, note 4. *Ath.*, Dec. 13, 1873, 772, incorrectly put the date of sale as 1355.

³⁴ *Ancient Deeds*, A. 1598; *Husting Rolls*, 91, No. 154; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 156.

³⁵ "Agnes Chaucer, who is described in another Roll as the wife of John Chaucer in 1349"; Morris-Skeat, *Prol.*, p. v. Cf. also *Trial Fore-*

strange, however, that none of those who make this statement definitely indicate what these records are. Mr. Kirk implies that it is the deed of 1349 relating to the tenements, &c., of Hamo de Copton mentioned above, but if this be so, and if he has printed all the information that the deed contains, his assertion seems to me unwarranted. The mere fact that in 1349 John Chaucer received from a third party property that had once been owned by the uncle of the lady who in 1354 is mentioned as his wife, could hardly be reasonably construed into the positive statements of note 35.³⁶ It is also rather singular that, although Agnes is generally believed to have been the mother of Geoffrey, no one has thought to apply the simple test of his birth year as the maximum limit of his mother's marriage. If this is borne in mind, no references to the records of 1349 are needed. The minimum limit is of interest on account of its bearing upon the date of Chaucer's birth. It was through this that the old birth-date of 1328 was rendered impossible, since the account of the trial (p. 55) showed that John was still unmarried in that year.

In Morris' *Prologue*, &c., p. vi (1883), Dr. Furnivall wrote: "Moreover the *Coram Rege Roll* of Trinity Term, 5 Edw. III., A. D. 1331, shows no plea by Geoffrey Stace that John Chaucer had then married the Joan de Esthalle whom they tried to marry him to in 1324". Here was indirect proof, according to Dr. Furnivall, that John was unmarried in 1331, since it would have been greatly to Stace's interest to have made such a plea.³⁷ But since Geoffrey Stace was in 1331 not confined in

words, 135, note 3; R. Morris, *Prol.*, p. v; W. Rye, *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 166, note; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Pollard, 4; *Globe ed.*, p. xv; Lounsbury, I, 13; F. J. Snell, 123; Kirk, p. xii.

³⁶ There is, however, no need to be as cautious as Mr. Ward (p. 48), who says that his wife's "name may be with tolerable safety set down as Agnes".

³⁷ Cf. p. 54, note 39. By a printer's error he was made to say just the opposite of this in some of the vols., and to this and Mr. Rye's error (p. 50, note 31), no doubt, are due many of the mis-statements as to Agnes having been John's second wife (cf. note 42; Furnivall, *Acad.*, XXVIII, 359; XXXIV, 372). The statement was repeated by Furnivall, *Acad.*, XXXI, 113; Morris-Skeat, *Prol.*, p. vi; Morley, V, 88, note; 95.

prison, would the absence of such a plea be of any value in proving that John was unmarried in 1331? The omission of such a plea in Geoffrey's petition of 1330 would perhaps point toward the fact that John was unmarried at that time, but could hardly be accepted as real evidence.

Wülker (p. 34) made the statement that John married Agnes, daughter of Hamo de Copton, about 1330. Agnes was certainly not Copton's daughter, nor is there evidence for 1330 as the date of the marriage. Mr. Hall (*N. & Q.*, 9 S., V, 146) gave her name as Agnes Clopton or Copton, and the date as 1363, which is clearly too late by many years. Professor Lounsbury (I, 52) believes in the early marriage of John as fitting his theory of Chaucer's birth having been between 1331-5. He suggests that early marriages were then the rule, not the exception, and that John's guardian may have adopted this method of preventing another abduction. But we should remember that John became of age while still unmarried.

At present no definite year can be given; he must have been married by 1343 at the latest, and he may have been married in 1329,³⁸ although he would at that time have been but sixteen years of age. There are several minor considerations which would incline me to favor 1340, or a little before that date: the birth-year of Geoffrey, who is the only known child; the age of John Chaucer, who would then be about twenty-six; and the fact that Agnes was a widow when John married her, and that she married again upon his death. That his wife's name does not appear in any of the records before 1354 is not so strange when the character of the preceding documents is remembered; that dated Nov. 11, 1349, is the only one in which it could have appeared, and it was by no means necessary there.

The next question is, Who was John's wife (or wives)? There is no evidence that he was married twice, and hence to the best of our knowledge Agnes was his first wife; we know her to have been his last (p. 97). As to her maiden name we have no evidence whatever save that her uncle was named Copton, which name she might, therefore, have borne. Since

³⁸ This date is given by Tuckwell, *Chaucer*, London, 1904, p. 10.

Agnes is the only known wife of John, she has been represented, sometimes with a qualifying statement, as the mother of Geoffrey.³⁹ Although it cannot be proved, until more evidence appears we are certainly justified in so regarding her. She was also the mother of another son, John de Northwell, concerning whom a feoffment was made by William de Northwell of his lands, tenements, etc., in the counties of Nottingham and Bedford. The words of the record are "and John de Northwell, son of Agnes Chaucer of London". The first husband of Agnes was named Northwell, or Norwell, and was a connection of William de Northwell, Keeper of the King's Wardrobe,⁴⁰ and a resident of one of John Chaucer's houses.⁴¹

That she was the second wife has nevertheless been positively stated, Joan de Westhale having been regarded as the first.⁴² Agnes has also been described as Agnes de Westhale, the widow of Walter de Westhale and mother of Joan, but the

³⁹ *Chambers' Encycl.*, III, 136; R. Morris, *Prol.*, (1883) p. v; G. H. Ely, 14; Brandl, II, 673; Corson, *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, N. Y., 1896, p. xii; *Student's Chaucer*, p. ix; Liddell, *Prologue, Knightes Tale, Nonnes Prestes Tale*, N. Y., 1901, p. xcix. With qualifying statement, H. R. Haweis, *Belgravia*, XLVIII, 39; Gilman, I, p. xxxi; Lounsbury, I, 13; F. J. Snell, 123; Kirk, p. xii.

⁴⁰ For the deed just mentioned see *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, IV, 353, A. 8733. I had discovered the deed, but could do no more than guess that Agnes had been married to some one by the name of Northwell before she married John. I am indebted to Mr. Redstone for the assurance that such was the case, and for the additional facts which I have given. He is now engaged in working up the Northwell relations with Chaucer, and we may expect a complete account of them ere long. I am also indebted to Mr. Redstone's letter for the advance suggestions that the date of the deed is 1341-68, and that Agnes's relation to William de Northwell will give the required information as to Geoffrey's entrance into Court life. See Appendix, p. 160.

⁴¹ *Ancient Deeds*, A. 1471 (p. 96).

⁴² H. Corson, *op. cit.*, p. xii (cf. F. Klaeber, *Anglia Beiblatt*, VIII, 122); W. Rye, *Ath.*, Nov. 19, 1892, 704; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (cf. Furnivall, *Acad.*, XXXIV, 371); *Chambers' Encycl.*, III, 136 (cf. Furnivall, *Acad.*, XXXVI, 290); W. Rye, *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 166, note. A. Hall (*N. & Q.*, 9 S., V, 146) said that he early married Joan Westbrook as his first wife. For origin of the error cf. note 37.

supposition was afterwards withdrawn.⁴³ It has been shown in chapter IV that Joan married Robert de Beverley, and in chapter VI that Agnes de Westhale remained the wife of Geoffrey Stace until her death.

On May 10, 1362, the Sheriffs of London were ordered to summon before the king's Council at Westminster, Adam de Bury, John Chaucer, William Heroun, and Richard Lyons, "wherever they may be in the city", on the morrow, in good time, on pain of forfeiture.⁴⁴ The summons occurred immediately after the second great plague, but its object is unknown; Mr. Kirk suggests that the king might have wished to raise some money.

On Feb. 9-16, 1363, John and Agnes acknowledged the right of John de Stodeye as holding of their gift to him ten and a half acres of land with appurtenances in Stebenheth and in the parish of St. Mary Mattefelon without the bar of Algate, London, and they granted for themselves and the heirs of Agnes that they will warrant, &c.⁴⁵ The phrase "and the heirs of Agnes" would suggest that she owned the land (p. 64), especially since it was in the region in which Hamo de Copton held his property. On Nov. 30, 1363, John and Agnes granted to Nicholas Longg' the 40 *d.* yearly rent which they used to receive from a tenement with the houses built thereon and its

⁴³ W. Rye, *Ath.*, Feb. 5, 1881, 200; Nov. 19, 1892, 704. Mr. Rye's statements concerning John's wives are a bit confused. He first conjectured that Joan de Westhale was the poet's mother, and that Agnes was the second wife, or wife of another John Chaucer (*Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 166). The following week he retracted his "supposition that Agnes de Westhale was the poet's mother". He evidently meant Joan de Westhale. His last statement (*Ath.*, Nov. 19, 1892, 704) repeats that he had previously conjectured that the Agnes of 1363 might be Agnes de Westhale, and refers to the Agnes of 1363 as the second wife of John Chaucer.

⁴⁴ *Warrants, Chancery*, 36 Edw. III.; Kirk, *N. & Q.*, 10 S., III, 145. Not in *L. R.*

⁴⁵ *Feet of Fines*, London and Middlesex, Edw. III., f. 69, No. 402; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 156; Hardy and Page, *Cal. Fines for London and Middlesex*, London, 1892, 140; W. Rye, *Ath.*, Nov. 19, 1892, 704. Mr. Rye and the *Antiquary* (XXIX, 180) wrongly give the date as 1364 (cf. note 49).

other appurtenances in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate, London.⁴⁶ A portion of two seals remains attached to the deed. According to Dr. Furnivall, John was witness to a Deed of Grant by Thomas Fynch in 1363.⁴⁷ John Chaucer and W. Shirburne mainprised Wm. Dyne, taverner, on Apr. 4, 1365, and the former, with Philip Herlawe, mainprised Wm. Cornewaille, taillour, on Sept. 12, 1365.⁴⁸

In a Final Concord, June 22-29, 1365, John and Agnes acknowledged the right of John de Stodeye to twenty-four shops and two gardens with the appurtenances in the parish of St. Mary Matfeloun without Aldgate, and rendered to him in Court.⁴⁹ The phrase "and the heirs of Agnes" is again used and in the same connection. On Jan. 16, 1366, John and Agnes, his wife, kinswoman and heir of Hamo de Copton, formerly citizen and moneyer of London, granted to Wm. atte Hale, taverner, and Agnes, his wife, 60 s. of yearly and quit rent issuing from certain tenements in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate in the suburb of London, which rent descended to Agnes Chaucer after the death of Copton.⁵⁰ Two seals of the grantors are affixed to the deed. This is the last record that refers to John Chaucer in the flesh.

⁴⁶ *Ancient Deeds*, E. 465; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 156. W. D. Selby (*Acad.*, XII, 364) gives an account of the finding of the document and its complete text.

⁴⁷ *Husting Rolls*, 91; *Trial Forewords*, 131, note 2. Not in *L. R.*

⁴⁸ *City of London Records, Pleas and Memoranda*, A. 10, m. 12; m. 17 d.; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 157.

⁴⁹ *Feet of Fines*, London and Middlesex, Edw. III., f. 70, No. 433; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 157; Hardy and Page, *Cal. Fines for London and Middlesex*, London, 1892, 143; W. Rye, *Ath.*, Nov. 19, 1892, 704. Mr. Rye and the *Antiquary* (XXIX, 180) wrongly give the date as 1366. The price paid was 30 m. of silver.

⁵⁰ *Ancient Deeds*, A. 1471; *Husting Rolls*, 93, No. 154; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 158; *Trial Forewords*, 135; Skeat, *Prioress' Tale*, &c., p. viii. *Ath.*, Dec. 13, 1873, 772, wrongly gives the date as 1369, and is followed in the error by Skeat (I, p. xiv) and Lounsbury (I, 13), both of whom, strange to say, correctly state John to have died in 1366-7. Mr. Kirk (*L. R.*, IV, 158, note 1) wrongly includes the *Forewords* among those who have 1369 as the date.

On May 6, 1367, Bartholomew atte Chapel, citizen and vintner of London, and Agnes, his wife, formerly wife of John Chaucier, late citizen and vintner of London, released to Nicholas Longe all right of dower in the 40 *d.* of rent previously granted to him⁵¹ (cf. p. 95). The seals of this deed have been lost. John, therefore, died between Jan. 16, 1366, and May 6, 1367, aged about fifty-three, for by the latter date he is referred to as dead, and his wife had married another vintner. He is often represented as having died in 1366.⁵² The first record that refers to Geoffrey as the King's esquire is dated June 20, 1367; perhaps he did not enter the King's service until the death of his father. Godwin would probably not have missed the opportunity offered by the nearness of John's death and Agnes' re-marriage to comment upon the unhappy state of their marital relations, and perhaps even darkly hint at foul proceedings.

Six days later Bartholomew and Agnes released to Wm. Underwode all right in that messuage, with curtilage adjacent, which Wm. and Juliana, late his wife, had by grant of John Chaucer and the said Agnes, late his wife.⁵³ The messuage was in the parish of St. Botolph without Algate, situate between the tenements of the Prior and Convent of Holy Trinity on the east and west. And here we take leave of Agnes as she enters upon her new married life.

As has been noticed, the seals of John and Agnes were affixed to three of the deeds. All three of John's seals are the same; the one attached to the deed of 1363 is described by Mr. Selby, *Acad.*, XII, 364. Only half of the seal, which was of red wax and about the size of a shilling, has come down to us, but what remains is amply sufficient to construct a fac-

⁵¹ *Ancient Deeds*, E. 464; *Husting Rolls*, 95, No. 80; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 159; W. D. Selby, *Acad.*, XII, 364 (cf. note 46). Pollard (*Globe ed.*, p. xv) said that the marriage took place in May, 1367; "by May, 1367" would have been more accurate.

⁵² Ward, 48; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; *Chambers' Encyl.*, III, 136; Wülker, 135; H. Corson, *op. cit.*, p. xii; A. Hall, *N. & Q.*, 9 S., V, 146.

⁵³ *Husting Rolls*, 95, No. 81; Kirk, *L. R.*, IV, 159.

simile of the complete impression. The legend runs thus:—SIGILLUM JOH[ANNIS CHAU]CER, the portion between the brackets having been lost. The field is—Ermine, on a chief three birds' heads issuant.

Concerning the meaning and nature of these birds there has been a slight discussion. Mrs. Haweis⁵⁴ believed that these "long-billed birds" and the "long necked bird" on the reverse of Chaucer's seal might be herons, and might therefore represent Mary's first husband, she having supposedly transmitted them to her younger son when she transferred Heyroun's wealth to a second husband. This suggestion was accepted by Mr. Selby (*Acad.*, XXII, 30), but opposed by Mr. J. H. Round (*Acad.*, XXII, 50). Dr. Furnivall noted that "the heads are far too stumpy for long billed heron's heads",⁵⁵ and Mr. Baddeley (p. III) suggested that they might be martlets.

The safest course is to accept Mr. Selby's statement that "it is difficult to determine the species of birds, as in a small seal of this kind much doubt must exist owing to the variety of birds which appear in heraldic devices, and the uncertain representation of these different varieties". The Heron theory at present cannot claim more value than that of a coincidence.

Mr. Selby offered as a suggestion that the bird in the corner of Thomas Chaucer's seal (*Cottonian MS.*, Julius, C, vii, f. 153), the introduction of which puzzled Nicolas (p. 61, note 20), might have been inserted in allusion to the heads upon John's seal. Mr. Round suggested that the bird might be the badge and the unicorn's head the crest, these two being often confused.⁵⁶ Since John's seal is crestless, he inferred that the crest was granted later as the family rose in the world, the crest being a mark of distinction, but not the badge.

⁵⁴ *Belgravia*, XLVIII, 40 (has cut of the seal); *Acad.*, XXII, 29. See p. III.

⁵⁵ *Acad.*, XXII, 67. He noted that upside down the heads closely resembled half-boots or chausses (cf. origin of the name Chaucer), but nevertheless believed the heads to be genuine.

⁵⁶ For a well-known instance of the bird badge cf. the swan of the Bohuns, which is to be seen appended to the collar of S. S. on the effigy of Chaucer's friend and fellow poet Gower.

John's shield appears to be unappropriated, for the only one at all resembling it to be found in Papworth is that borne by Timewell—Ermine, on a chief embattled gules three eagles' heads erased or. Mr. Rye (*Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 166, note) called attention to the fact that the arms on John's seal are almost identical with those of the Swynfords.⁵⁷ But the Swynford arms as given in Robson bear no resemblance to John's seal; they do, however, agree with those of Roet (Roed),—Gu. three catherine wheels, or.

Agnes' seal upon the deeds of 1354 and 1366 has no legend, the arms being a chevron. The seal upon the 1363 deed is slightly smaller than John's and is inscribed, SIG. WILLELMI []; the coat is apparently:—On a fess three mullets (?), in chief a bend; in the sinister chief a bugle horn (?) (the dexter chief is gone), in base a heart (?), with two roundles issuant.⁵⁸ Agnes' connection with William de Northwell and the fact that both she and John had a coat of arms and a seal indicates that John was of high rank among the vintners of the City, and thereby confirms other facts which point in the same direction.⁵⁹

The term wealthy, or its equivalent, has often been applied to John,⁶⁰ and a survey of the real estate which is known to have been in his possession at various times confirms the use of the word, and also the deduction which was drawn from

⁵⁷ Katherine de Swynford (*née* Roet) was probably the sister of Philippa Chaucer.

⁵⁸ W. D. Selby, *Acad.* XII, 364. Mr. Redstone is now engaged upon a careful examination of the many seals used by Chaucer and his relatives, and we may expect to have the obscurity cleared up. Could the "Willelmi" refer to the William de Northwell already mentioned?

⁵⁹ H. R. Haweis, *Belgravia*, XLVIII, 41; Garnett and Gosse, I, 136. It does not prove noble origin, however; the Heralds were probably as accommodating then as they were in Shakspeare's day.

⁶⁰ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; H. R. Haweis, *Belgravia*, XLVIII, 39; E. F. Willoughby, *Prologue to C. T.*, p. 11; Ward, 48; F. N. Paton, *Chaucer*, N. Y., 1888, p. xx; Jespersen, 5; A. M. Van Dyke, *Prologue and Knight's Tale*, N. Y., 1898, p. 5; Morley, V, 92; Pollard, 4; Skeat, I, p. xiv; Garnett and Gosse, I, 136; Mather, *Prologue, Knight's Tale, Nun's Priest's Tale*, Boston, 1899, p. v.

the omission of his name from his step-father's will (p. 79). The list is as follows:

1. The ultimate remainder of the manor of Colesle and of land in Alderton; 1324 (p. 56).
2. A messuage in Ipswich with appurtenances, valued at 20 s. per year; 1324 (p. 55). See also the "certain lands", p. 54.
3. Tenements and free rents in London and Middlesex; 1349 (p. 90).
4. A brewing tenement with houses, buildings, and garden adjacent, and two shops and solars in Algatestrete, parish of St. Botolph; 1354 (p. 91).
5. Ten and a half acres of land in Stebenheth, parish of St. Mary Matfefelon; 1363 (p. 95).
6. Tenement with houses built thereon and other appurtenances in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate; 1363 (p. 95).
7. Twenty-four shops and two gardens with appurtenances in the parish of St. Mary Matfeloun without Aldgate; 1365 (p. 96).
8. Tenements in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate; 1366 (p. 96).
9. Messuage with curtilage adjacent in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate; 1367 (p. 97).
10. Tenement on Thames Street in the parish of St. Martin's in the Vintry; 1381 (p. 44).

The above enumeration includes a fair amount of real estate, and when to this is added the property of which no record exists, it must be admitted that John was a person of considerable wealth and importance.⁶¹ The increase of the Chaucers in prosperity and influence seems to have been one of steady growth; the poet's position in life is familiar to all, and an examination of the records referring to his son Thomas (for the most part as yet unpublished) shows that he was the most influential and prosperous member of the family.

⁶¹ Cf. his executorship of Thomas Heyroun's will.

There are several points concerning his possessions that deserve attention: first, it would appear that most of them came through his wife. She was the niece and heir of a moneyer and allied by marriage to the Northwells; in modern phraseology he "married well", even if his widow's later actions might wrongly incline some to believe "unhappily". Remarriage was not infrequent at that time (cf. the husbands of Maria Heyroun and Agnes de Westhale). Nos. 4 and 5 she certainly brought to him, and to these Mr. Kirk (p. xii) would add 5 and 7, presumably because of the phrase "and the heirs of Agnes". Nos. 6 and 9 either belonged to her or were bequeathed to her, since she afterwards granted them to others, and No. 3 has by many writers been connected with Agnes, though upon apparently slight grounds. Her portion would thus include Nos. 4-9, concerning which it is noticeable that each of them is without Aldgate, where Hamo de Copton's property is known to have been.

This view of the source of John's landed wealth receives strength from the fact that each transference of his property by himself, save that of No. 2, takes place after his marriage and after the death of Copton; that in no instance is there a record of the transference of these properties to John; and that in each case the formula is "John Chaucer * * * and Agnes, his wife". See "Bartholomew atte Chapel * * * and Agnes, his wife" (p. 97), where the property belonged to Agnes. No. 2 was sold to Geoffrey Stace; what became of Nos. 1 and 3 is not known, but as all the rest save 10 were transferred, it is not probable that Geoffrey inherited much real estate (cf. p. 45).

John's dwelling-place cannot be accurately located. In 1328 he was living with Richard and Mary in Cordwanerstrete Ward, but after that we have no clue to the house in which he lived. Professor Skeat and Mr. Kirk state that he lived in Cordwainer street, but they have apparently confused the ward with the street.¹² He is usually represented as having dwelt in

¹² I, p. x; *L. R.*, IV, pp. vii, xiii; cf. note 64.

his Thames street house,⁶³ and as this is the only house which we know him to have had in London that was not granted to some one else, the conjecture is the most probable that can be made (cf. p. 101). Geoffrey is also supposed to have been born here⁶⁴—presumably for the same reason—but there is no real evidence to support the statement. If it be true, then John must have owned the tenement from about 1340 until his death. It has also been regarded as a wine-shop and hostelry,⁶⁵ probably because of the fact that he was a vintner and that it was released to a vintner. Mr. Kirk (p. xii, n. 4) writes: "An ordinance was made in 1363 that sweet wines should be sold at only three taverns in the City and suburbs, viz., in Chepe, Walbroke and Lumbardstrete. The second may have been John Chaucer's" (*Close Roll*, 39 Edw. III., m. 26). If "Walbroke" refers to a Ward, there exists no evidence of John's tavern therein.

The chief value of the above list lies in its probable influence

⁶³ Furnivall, *L. R.*, II, p. vii; Brandl, II, 672; Ten Brink, *Eng. Lit.*, II, 34; A. Gilman, I, p. xxxiii; *Antiquary*, XXXVI, 322; M. Seymour, *Chaucer's Stories Simply Told*, London, 1888, p. i; Skeat (Bohn), 16, note 1; Brooke, *English Literature*, N. Y., 1900, p. 59; Pancoast, *English Literature*, N. Y., 1902, p. 74; Kirk, p. xi; all references in note 64.

⁶⁴ R. Morris, *Prol.*, p. v; *Chambers' Encyl.*, III, 136; E. F. Willoughby, *Prologue to C. T.*, London, 1881, p. 11; Wülker, 134; J. Saunders, *Canterbury Tales*, London, 1894, p. xiii; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Jusserand, 270; Skeat, I, p. xv; *Student's Chaucer*, p. ix; P. W. Ames, *Life and Characteristics of Chaucer*, London, 1900, p. 146; Pollard, 4; *Prol.*, p. xi, note 1; p. xii; Garnett and Gosse, I, 136; Jenks, *In the Days of Chaucer*, N. Y., 1904, p. 13; Tuckwell, *Chaucer*, London, 1904, p. 10. Jespersen (p. 5) states that the house was owned by the poet's grandfather, but this is totally without foundation and probably incorrect. J. N. Smith (*Antiquarian Rambles in the Streets of London*, London, 1846, II, 301) suggests Richard's tenement at the corner of Kyrounlane (p. 77). Prof. Lounsbury states the case correctly in Hutton's *Literary Landmarks of London*, London, N. Y., 1903, p. 328; cf. *Warner Lib.*, 3553; H. S. Ward, *Canterbury Pilgrimages*, Phila., 1905, p. 141.

⁶⁵ Wülker, 134; Jespersen, 5; Brandl, II, 672; J. M. D. Meiklejohn, 6; Jusserand, 270; Jenks, *op. cit.*; E. F. Willoughby (*op. cit.*, p. 11) placed the shop upon "the banks of the Thames near the outfall of Wall Brook". R. Morris (*Prol.*, p. v; Morris-Skeat, *Prol.*, p. v) said: "There, on Thames bank, the poet spent his earliest days", but he may have intended it to be taken loosely.

upon Geoffrey's youth. The earlier scholars conjectured that he must have descended from gentle or prosperous ancestors in order to have received the education which he had (cf. p. 39). The list confirms their supposition, and shows that John was abundantly able to educate his son, and that his position in life was such that Geoffrey might without difficulty have entered the service of the Countess of Ulster, even had his mother not been related to the Keeper of the King's Wardrobe. The social importance of the vintners has already been stressed, and it has been shown that they were importers of wines which were sold by the taverners, who kept the taverns for them (pp. 25, 37). I do not think, therefore, that there is any ground for such statements concerning Geoffrey as, "son of perhaps such a jovial host as the keeper of the Tabard", or on the other hand, "bred at the Court where his father was often in attendance".⁶⁶ My mental images of Harry Bailly and of John Chaucer differ considerably, nor is there evidence of John's attendance upon Court save in one instance (p. 83).

It has been asked how a vintner's son could become so prominent at Court,⁶⁷ and the answer may be found in the information just given as to the standing of John and Agnes Chaucer, and in the state of society at that time. It does not fall within the bounds of this study to present a picture of the times, but the fact that in the fourteenth century noble birth was not a necessary qualification to high social position could be abundantly illustrated from Stow's *Survey* alone. One example will suffice for our purpose, namely, that of John Philipot, who is often mentioned in the *Life Records* as one of the Collectors of Customs, and as a witness to the deed relating to the raptus of Cecilia Chaumpaigne (*L. R.*, IV, 225). He started as a fish-monger; became Sheriff and Mayor of the City; fitted out a fleet for the defense of England at his own expense; was knighted by the King; &c.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Living Age*, CCXXVII, 581.

⁶⁷ *Ath.*, Apr. 28, 1894, 535.

⁶⁸ Stow, *Survey*, 190; II, 218 (1754); R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, II, 275; Higden, *Polychronicon*, IX, 30; Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England* (1875), II, 444, 567; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, I, 370.

Chaucer's choice of English as the language of his poems has been attributed to his so-called "low origin",⁶⁹ and the influence of his father's trade upon his writings has also been discovered by some scholars.⁷⁰

"Now kepe yow fro the whyte and fro the rede,
And namely fro the whyte wyn of Lepe,
That is to selle in Fysshstrete, or in Chepe.
This wyn of Spayne crepeth subtilly
In othere wynes, growing faste by,
Of which ther ryseth swich fumositee,
That whan a man hath dronken draughtes thre,
And weneth that he be at hoom in Chepe,
He is in Spayne, right at the toune of Lepe",

Pardoner's Tale, ll. 562-570.

Compare the entire passage on drunkenness in the *Tale*. For "Fysshstrete" and "Chepe" see the map. It is needless to offer a refutation of the first assertion, and the second will be believed to a greater or less degree according to its readers.

The subject may well be closed with the following "choice" bit from Godwin (I, 325), descriptive of the poet's early days: "It was the good fortune of Chaucer that he led the early years of his life in scenes of concourse and variety, that he was condemned to no premature and compulsory solitude, and that his mind was not suffered to vegetate in that indolence and vacancy which, when they occupy an extensive portion of the human life, are so destructive and deadly to the intellectual powers". Truly Flügel (*Anglia*, XXI, 245) was not far wrong when he wrote, "Es gehört beinahe zum guten ton über Godwin's *Life of Chaucer* zu lächeln".

The question is sometimes asked, how it is known that all the persons of the same name are the same person, and certain scholars have warned us against a too ready acceptance of such

⁶⁹ *Dublin Univ. Mag.*, LIII, 53; Ten Brink, *Eng. Lit.*, II, 40. Speght sees in it a proof of his native origin.

⁷⁰ Wülker, 135, *Student's Chaucer*, p. ix; F. J. Snell, 124; Tuckwell, *Chaucer*, London, 1904, p. 10. Ward (p. 48) suggested that the Host might be in part a family portrait.

identities.⁷¹ It is not easy to *prove*, for instance, that each mention of Robert Chaucer refers to the same person, but nevertheless it may be of value to see how closely related the various records are, just which of them are doubtful, and what degree of certainty can be reached, bearing in mind all the time,

“ that men mosten more thing beleve
 “ Then men may seen at eye or elles preve ”.

Prologue to the Legend of Good Women, (B) 99.

In brief, my plan has been to arrange all the references to one person in a series of groups, so that all the records in any single group will at once be accepted as referring to the same person; or in other words, each group will represent one man.⁷² This having been done, I have then tried to show that all the groups refer to the same person. It has also been found necessary to refer to the documents merely by their numbers in the *Life Records*, and to the men by the group in which they occur, as otherwise the identification would become intolerably long. Every statement made in the process of identification cannot be confirmed by referring to the preceding pages, since it would, *e. g.*, have been impossible to repeat the phrase “ citizen and vintner ” each time that it was used to describe John Chaucer. One general premise which applies throughout, and which we shall once or twice have to avail ourselves of, is that the burden of proof unquestionably lies with him who would attempt to prove the non-identity of those bearing the same name.

The records relating Robert are:

- (I). 1 5 8 10 *Cal. Close Rolls*, 4 Edw. III., mm. 10, 11 (Mary).
- (II). 2 4 (Customs).
- (III). 3 *Letter-Book D*, 105 *Close Rolls* (1265) Robert de Suffolk.

The Roberts of (I) are the same, since each of them is married to a wife named Mary; it has been shown that this Robert

⁷¹ Morley, V, 86, 88; Lounsbury, I, 10, 29; F. J. Snell, 122-4.

⁷² The last group in each case consists of unconnected records. In the preceding pages all persons of the same name have been regarded as identical unless otherwise stated.

was the grandfather of Geoffrey (p. 55). The Robert of the Redstone records is the same as the preceding because he was also married to Maria Heyroun and was the father of John. The Roberts of (II) are doubtless identical, since each of them is connected with the Customs. That (I) and (II) refer to the same person is reasonably certain. There is no objection to the hypothesis, and there are a few points in its favor. (I) was intimately connected with vintners and was, perhaps, one of them (p. 67), and as in the case of Richard Chaucer, a man with knowledge of wines would be more likely to be appointed to the post of (II) than would one who was ignorant of them. Furthermore, the son and grandson of (I), and the third husband of his wife, held positions under the Customs, and since all his family was connected with the Customs, it is likely that he also was connected therewith.

The last three references in (III) are too slight to afford any means of identification. That the Robert of 3 should be the same as the poet's grandfather receives support in that the disturbance was made against the foreign vintners, and Robert was perhaps a vintner. Against this view is the appointment of Robert as Collector of Customs so soon after the riot. Neither argument is conclusive, but I do not think that the latter is sufficient to throw the record out.

RICHARD CHAUCER.

- (I). 8 9 10 11 24 *Cal. Close Rolls*, 4 Edw. III.,
mm. 10, 11 Redstone, p. 190 (Mary).
- (II). 6 14 18 19 22 24 *Assize Rolls*, 14 Edw. II.,
m. 37 *Close Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., mm. 20 d., 26 d.
(Vintner).
- (III). 12 20 (Cordwanerstrete Ward).
- (IV). Add. 1, 2, 3 *Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II,
mm. 7, 8 d., 20 d., 21 d. (Customs).
- (V). 7 15 16 21 *Harl. Charters*, 48 E. 10.

The Richard Chaucers of (I) are the same throughout because in each case Mary, his wife, is mentioned. This is also true of (II) because Richard is there a vintner; in (III) both the Richards possess a shop in the same parish and have Wm.

de Thorneye as a neighbor and associate. The records of (IV) all refer to the Richard Chaucer who was deputy to Seguyn.

That (I) was the step-grandfather of the poet has already been shown (p. 55); that (I) is identical with (II) is shown by their common possession of 24. The Richard Chaucer of (III) lived in the Ward of Cordwanerstrete and was associated with Wm. de Thorneye, both of which facts were true of (I) and (II). As in the case of Robert Chaucer (II), the Richard of (IV) cannot be *proved* to be the same as the Richard of (I), (II), (III), but the probabilities all point in that direction. His holding such a position makes it probable that he was a vintner, and in that case he would be classed with (II). Also, it has been shown that (I), (II), (III), the second husband of the wife of his son, and grandson held positions similar to that held by (IV), hence it is likely that (IV) should be the same as (I), (II), (III); and finally, there is no objection to such a view, the dates fitting in perfectly.

As to the Richards of 7 and *Harl. Charters*, 48 E. 10, there is nothing either for or against their identification with the preceding Richards, nor, beyond the natural desire for truth in the matter, is it of much importance whether we accept them or not. The Richard of 16 is witness to a deed to Andrew Aubrey, who was closely associated with the Richard of (I), (II), (III) (p. 136), and may therefore be accepted as "genuine" with some show of probability. In the case of the two assessments (15, 21) we have only negative proofs, but these are fairly strong: there are not only no apparent reasons why he should not be considered "genuine", but all that is known of the step-father of John, of his social position, his wealth, &c., would make it most probable that he is the person here referred to. We may therefore with a strong degree of probability regard the records which mention Richard as referring to one man only.

JOHN CHAUCER.

(I). 31 32 36 37 38 40 41 44 45 (Agnes).

(II). 17 27 29 31 32 37 38 41 44 45 146
(Vintner).

(III). 23 25 26 27 28 89 207 (1362) (Heyroun).

- (IV). 8 9 11 *Cal. Close Rolls*, 4 Edw. III., mm. 10, 11 (Trial).
 (V). Add. 4 *Addit. MS.*, 24513 Nicolas' refs. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, mm. 15, 29 (Customs).
 (VI). (1344) *Trial Forewords*, 131 (1363) *Exchequer T. R.*, No. 205, p. 13 39 30 14 13 *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 10 d. *Warrants, Chancery*, 36 Edw. III.

All the Johns of (I) are the same because they each have a wife named Agnes. Were it necessary, the identity could be proved otherwise: thus dividing the large group into smaller ones, we have:

- (a). 31 32 37.
 (b). 36 40.
 (c). 38 44.
 (d). 41.
 (e). 45.

Now the Johns of (a) are identical because all three records refer to the same piece of property, and the same is true of (c); (b) consists of two Final Concords, both made between John and Agnes on the one side, and John de Stodeye on the other, and both relating to property in the same parish; (d) and (e) are self-evidently identical. (c)=(e) because in 44 and 45 Agnes is the wife of Bartholomew atte Chapel; (a) = (d) because the seals on 31 and 41 are the same, and the Agneses are both kinswomen and heirs of Hamo de Copton; (a)=(c) because the seals of John on 31 and 38 are the same; (a)=(b) because the property in (b) is in the same region as that in (a), and because John de Stodeye was connected with a John Chaucer, citizen and vintner of London, which corresponds to the description of the John Chaucer of (a). Therefore (a)=(b)=(c)=(d)=(e). The other groups could be verified in a similar manner, but since extra proof is unnecessary the method will be omitted hereafter.

The Johns of (II) are each termed "citizen and vintner", and among them is the father of Geoffrey (cf. 146). All the records of (III) relate to the John Chaucer who was brother

and executor of Thomas Heyroun (1362 refers to Wm. Heyroun), and in (IV) are included the records of the abduction trial, which must necessarily refer to a single person. The records in (V) all refer to the John Chaucer of the Customs.

Now (II) is identical with (I) and (III) since the same records are to be found in each (31 32 37 38 41 44 45 in (I) and (II), and 27 in (II) and (III)). But (III) is identical with (IV), because the John Chaucer of (IV) is the son of Robert Chaucer and Mary, and step-son to Richard, and therefore half-brother to Thos. Heyroun, as 24 would prove. Therefore (I)=(II)=(III)=(IV). The John of the Customs cannot positively be identified with the preceding John Chaucer, and the same arguments used in connection with Robert and Richard and the Customs, and the association of the poet's father with John de Stodeye are of equal force here; it appears very probable that they are the same person. There is no doubt as to the John Chaucer of the records discovered by Mr. Redstone and hence they have not been included in the discussion.

The information given in (1344) and *Trial Forewords*, 131 (1363) is too slight to afford a means of identification, and the John of the *Patent Rolls*, 21 Edw. III. and *Chancery Warrants* has no direct connection with the father of the poet; I should prefer to accept them as genuine, however, until proof to the contrary is produced. Reasons for the non-identification of *Exchequer T. R.*, No. 205, p. 13, with John Chaucer have been given on page 90. Concerning 39 there is no evidence, nor is it of sufficient importance to make any material difference whether it is accepted or not. In 30, John Chaucer is associated with John de Stodeye, who was known to be an acquaintance of the poet's father; hence 30 should probably be included in the canon. There is, however, no doubt about 14; a John Chaucer is here witness to a deed between Thos. Heyroun and Richard Chaucer, the half-brother and step-father of the "genuine" John Chaucer; it would indeed be a coincidence were he not the half-brother and step-son.

We could heartily wish that there were definite proofs that the John Chaucer of 13 was the poet's father, but must con-

tent ourselves with purely negative reasons. There is nothing to prevent such an identity, and in its favor it may be urged that Geoffrey stood high at Court, that Agnes was connected with the nobility, and that among John's companions were John Heroun, who may have been a relative of the poet's grandmother, and Henry Picard, who is mentioned in connection with both John Chaucer and John de Stodeye. We must either accept this John Chaucer, or else suppose that there lived at the same time as the poet's father another John Chaucer who was of equal rank, and about whom we know almost nothing, since practically all the other records have been shown to refer to the "genuine" John Chaucer. There is therefore little reason to doubt the "genuineness" of any of the John Chaucer records which have as yet been discovered.

In a rough way the theories as to the original home of the Chaucers may be divided into two classes, a general and a specific. The most common general statement was that the Chaucers came from the Eastern counties;⁷³ this was based upon the appearance of the Chaucers in Essex, Norfolk, etc.; the supposed relation between Mary Chaucer and the Staces; and Robert's possession of the Ipswich messuage. Since the Chaucers of London both antedated and outnumbered those of the Eastern counties, this theory was not universally believed, and the question remained a doubtful one. With the new light which has been thrown upon the Ipswich ancestry of Chaucer, the Eastern counties theory has risen to the rank of a fact.⁷⁴ However, the honour must be divided with London, since Robert the Taverner, the earliest member of the family, appears to have been of both Ipswich and London, and other members of the Malyn family seem to have been connected equally with the two cities (cf. Robert, John, Richard, Henry, Nicholas, Simon) and to have become known as Chaucers only upon their residing in Cordwanerstrete Ward, London. See

⁷³ *Chambers' Encycl.*, III, 136; Morley, V, 91; Skeat, I, p. ix; Pollard (1901), 5; Garnett and Gosse, I, 136; Tuckwell, *Chaucer*, London, 1904, p. 10.

⁷⁴ The Inquisition on the death of Thomas Chaucer was taken at Ipswich on the 13th of May, 1435 (cf. Nicolas, 141).

John de Suffolk who was associated with Robert le Chaucer in the trespass against the Gascon wine merchants.

An attempt was made by Mr. Baddeley⁷⁵ to place the family of the poet in Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, &c. The arguments given were more numerous than convincing, and with the proof that Ipswich was the original home of the Chaucers, they have become useless and have therefore been omitted.

Attempts have been made to place their home in other counties and to determine the city in which the poet was born. Dr. Pauli⁷⁶ for some unknown reason placed the family in Kent, but supposed them to have maintained active and constant communication with London. Mr. Rye, aided by Mrs. Haweis, has striven to show that the poet's family, and even he himself, were Norfolk folk, Geoffrey having been born in Lynn.

In 1881 he advanced the view that Robert le Chaucer's family came originally from Norfolk.⁷⁷ This he supported by citing Benedict and Walter of Norwich, and by advancing several other arguments which will be noticed later. He also offered the suggestion that Mary Chaucer was a Stace, and that the family was thus connected with Suffolk. Mrs. Haweis (*Acad.*, XXII, 29), accepting this last statement, regarded the birds upon John's seal as herons, and saw in them a connection with Mary's first husband (p. 98). According to her he was probably a Norfolk, or at least East English man, as the heron is an inseparable inhabitant of that county, and is commonly eaten, and can still be seen in the Norwich game market; and at any rate, Heroun's very name would suggest that he was an inhabitant of those marshy lands. She also cited Gerard of Colchester, and suggested that he was the father of Robert. It has been shown that the birds are probably not herons (p. 98), and even if they were, Mrs. Haweis would have to collect

⁷⁵ St. C. Baddeley, *N. & Q.*, 8 S., XII, 341; 9 S., I, 189; W. Rye, 8 S., XII, 449; 9 S., I, 331; A. R. Bayley, 9 S., IX, 134 (see p. 5).

⁷⁶ *Pictures of Old England*, London, 1861, p. 216; *Geschichte von England*, Gotha, 1855, IV, 710.

⁷⁷ *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 165; *L. R.*, III, 125.

yet more evidence in order to establish the probability that Heroun was a Norfolk man. In 1886 Mr. Rye altered his original statement to the more specific one that Chaucer was born at Lynn, and gave twelve reasons therefor, some of which he had previously mentioned.⁷⁸ These have not been given, since Chaucer's connection with Ipswich and London has been firmly established, and since they can readily be examined in the third volume of the *Life Records*.

As for the birth-place of Chaucer, the burden of proof unquestionably rests with him who would attempt to assign any other place than London, and hence that has been almost universally accepted (p. 102). From the time of Speght and the many others who based their belief upon the spurious *Testament of Love*,⁷⁹ London has been correctly regarded as the birth-place of the poet, though upon incorrect grounds until the parents of the poet were discovered.⁸⁰ Neither John nor

⁷⁸ *Acad.*, XXIX, 77; *Norfolk Songs, Stories and Sayings*, p. 150. Reprinted with slight revision, and with notes by Dr. Furnivall, in *L. R.*, III, 131, but with reference to *Acad.*, 1885; 1886 is the correct date. Cf. also Rye, *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, II, 550; *East Anglia Notes and Queries*, V, (1894) 258, 319, 352. Körting (p. 159) accepted Norfolk as the probable home of the family before they came to London, and a reviewer in *Antiquary*, IX, 227, accepted Mr. Rye's theory.

⁷⁹ Book I, cap. VI, l. 98 ff.

⁸⁰ Pits, 572; J. Collier, *Dictionary* (London, 1701-21), I; T. Fuller, *Worthies of England*, London, 1840, III, 20; *Dublin Univ. Mag.*, LIII, 274; Camden, *Britannia* (1695), 255 = Woodstock. Fox, *Acts and Mon.*, I, 767, = Oxfordshire. Leland (p. 419) and Bale (p. 525) say Oxford or Berkshire, and Sandras (p. 12) cautiously adds London to these two. Cf. Speght; Urry; Furnivall, *Acad.*, V, 65. These theories are often mentioned by other writers, cf. Winstanley, *Lives of Most Famous English Poets*, London, 1687, p. 23, &c. The followers of the *Test. of Love* are too numerous to mention—they include practically all between 1600 and 1873 that give the birth-place. Nicolas (p. 46) in 1843 proved that the *Test.* could not be accepted as biographical evidence, and his work was complemented by Hertzberg (pp. 34-6), who in 1870 argued that Chaucer did not write the piece. Minor accounts of the poet written during the last two decades still use it as a source for his biography. Cf. M. Rutherford, *English Authors*, Atlanta, 1890, p. 21; *Antiquary*, XXXVI, 322.

Agnes is known ever to have dwelt elsewhere, and at the time most generally accepted as that of Geoffrey's birth, 1339-42, John is known to have been living in London (p. 84). It is therefore most probable that the poet was born in that city. The Lynn theory is of course impossible if the later date of birth be accepted, and highly improbable whatever date be accepted.

VI.

THE FRIENDS OF THE CHAUCERS.

Under the above heading I have collected what information I could in regard to certain families and persons with whom the family of the poet came into contact or were else distantly related. The chapter is divided roughly into three parts, the first referring to the Staces, who were concerned in the abduction of John Chaucer; the second to the Malyns, who were related to Robert's father; and the last to those men with whom Robert, Richard, and especially John, were more or less closely associated. The Heyrouns have been reserved for future study. Very little if anything has been written upon most of these men, and I have for the most part been dependent upon what I might discover in the various records to which I have had access. No pretense to completeness has been made, since to attain that, a thorough search through many various records would be necessary. The accounts are, therefore, scarcely more than sketches or outlines accompanied by the citation of the records upon which they depend.

In adding them to the foregoing chapters I have had several ends in view: that they might serve as the starting points of more ambitious sketches, should the occasion for writing such arise; as the contribution of the *Life Records* towards such biographies; and lastly for the sake of the background which they furnish for the lives of the Chaucers. They serve as a means of identification, and, as illustrations of the "company" which the Chaucers "kept", they afford us valuable side-lights upon the Chaucers themselves. I am glad to note that of late they have been the subject of increasing attention. The information contained in the last section of the chapter has been derived mainly from the *Life Records*, and the numbers in

parenthesis that occur throughout the chapter refer to the documents in that book.

A search through the records has enabled me to supplement the notes upon the Staces which were gathered by Mr. Rye in 1881.¹ The most important record for the relation of the Staces to each other is a simple protection for two years, which was granted, on Oct. 26, 1320, to Thomas Stace of Ipswich and Geoffrey, Thomas, John, and Henry, his sons.² In many instances it has been impossible to distinguish with any degree of certainty between Thomas the father and Thomas the son, and I have therefore not insisted upon my differentiation of them. Mr. Rye makes mention of only one Thomas, whom he regards as probably the brother of Geoffrey.

It is almost certain that the Thomas who was bailiff of Ipswich was the father of the four boys, since in a record, dated July 10, 1315, there is reference to Thomas Stace of Ipswich, bailiff of Ipswich, and his son Thomas, who, together with others, prevented the steward of the bishop of Norwich from holding a leet at his manor of Wykes near Ipswich, and broke into the bishop's park and carried away a horse which they found there.³ It is of course possible that Thomas Stace, Jr., was the bailiff and had a Thomas Stace as his son, but, on the other hand, it is improbable that Thomas Stace, Jr., would have had a son in 1315 who was old enough to undertake a robbery, and it is furthermore creating a supposition for which there is no demand. The natural way would be to accept the bailiff as the father of Thomas, and if this be done we have the following references to Thomas Stace, Sr. Thomas Stace, bailiff of Ipswich, was witness to real estate transactions in Ipswich on the following dates: Thursday after St. Matthew the Apostle (Sept. 21), 1286;⁴ April 9,

¹ *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 166; Nov. 19, 1892, 704; *L. R.*, III, 128.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 14 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 13.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 29 d.

⁴ *Ancient Deeds*, III, A 3893. The deed is dated "14 Edw." and the editor has supplied the "I"; if we suppose it to have been Edw. II. the date would be 1320.

1296;⁵ April 12, 1301;⁶ to two on Nov. 29, 1310;⁷ and to one which is undated (c. 1296).⁸

On Feb. 4, 1316, the king granted a commission for the trial of Thomas Stace and others of Ipswich upon the complaint of Hermann Clippyng, a merchant of the Hanse of Almain, who claimed that they had seized and imprisoned him at Ipswich, carried away his goods and assaulted his men and servants.⁹ The trial seems to have gone against Clippyng, for on Feb. 19 the king ordered all his money and goods to be delivered to the custody of Gilbert Robert and Thomas Stace, as the said Hermann, who had been arrested at Ipswich for a great trespass against the king committed at Aberdeen in Scotland by him and his accomplices, had escaped from Gilbert and Thomas as they were taking him to the parliament at Lincoln.¹⁰ On May 18, 1316, the king ordered his goods to be returned to him without diminution, he having found mainpernors to have him before the king and to answer for his goods and chattels if they should be awarded to the king.¹¹

On March 1, 1321, a commission was granted for the trial of certain men who were charged with rioting in the town of Ipswich, resisting Thomas de la Rente and Thomas Stace, the king's bailiffs, and preventing the collection of tolls.¹² With these records I would class the reference to Thomas Stace, burgess of Ipswich, who, in connection with two fellow burgesses, in June, 1291, acknowledged that they owed the Bishop of Bath and Wells 110 s. to be levied, in default of payment, of their lands and chattels in co. Norfolk.¹³ He was

⁵ *Ancient Deeds*, II, A 3527.

⁶ *Ancient Deeds*, II, A 3391.

⁷ *Ancient Deeds*, II, A 3586, 3638.

⁸ *Ancient Deeds*, II, A 3634.

⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 9 d.

¹⁰ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 9 Edw. II., m. 16.

¹¹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 9 Edw. II., m. 7.

¹² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 14 Edw. II., pt. II, m. 20 d.; Rye, *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 166; *L. R.*, III, 129; *Parl. Writs*. Mr. Rye wrongly refers to "m. 19 d."

¹³ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 19 Edw. I., m. 6 d.

also burgess for Ipswich for various years between 1307 and 1327.¹⁴

It is rather remarkable that in all the records relating to Thomas Stace there is no reference to "Thomas Stace, the brother of Geoffrey", and the only mention of "Thomas, the son of Thomas Stace", occurs in the two instances already given. This fact would incline us to refer most of the Thomas Stace references to Thomas Stace the father, and in nearly every case the facts noted in the records, and their dates, agree better, or fully as well, with Thomas, Sr., as with Thomas, Jr. It has usually been supposed that the Thomas of the John Chaucer trial was a brother to Geoffrey and Henry,¹⁵ but it is at least an open question whether he be the brother or father of the other two. I rather incline to the latter view. Beyond the points already cited, it may be that the placing of Thomas's name first in the list, and the mention of Henry Stace as the brother of Geoffrey with the neglect to mention Thomas as the same, lend a slight support to the view that Thomas Stace of 1324 was the father and not the son. Regarding then the following records as referring to Thomas Stace, Sr., but without insisting upon that view, I append a short abstract of the records which relate to him.

Thomas Stace of Ipswich bought land in Brantham in 1288-89.¹⁶ He was appointed deputy of the chief butler, Walter de Waldeshuf, in the port of Ipswich, on Sept. 14, 1309;¹⁷ he was appointed to the same position under the same chief butler in Ipswich, Dunwich, Orforde, Erewelle and other ports to the head of the Thames, on Jan. 28, 1315;¹⁸ and another appoint-

¹⁴ Rye, *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 166; *L. R.*, III, 129 (no reference to records is given); *Acad.*, XXII, 30.

¹⁵ Rye, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Rye, *Suffolk Fines*, 92.

¹⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 3 Edw. II., m. 34. This is presumably the record to which Mr. Rye (*op. cit.*) refers when he says that Thomas Stace was appointed in 1310 to a position similar to that of Robert Chaucer in London, 1310. He may, however, refer to the *Fine Roll*, 4 Edw. II. Mr. Rye says that he was a collector of customs in Ipswich in 1307-1308, but gives no references (cf. *Acad.*, XXII, 30).

¹⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 8 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 5.

ment as deputy to the king's butler (Stephen de Abyndon) in the port of Ipswich is dated July 21, 1316.¹⁹ On June 25, 1317, Thomas Stace of Ipswich acknowledged that he owed seventeen marks, to be levied, in default of payment, of his lands and chattels in co. Suffolk.²⁰ The record is marked *Cancelled on payment*. There is an interesting agreement dated Feb. 20, 1320, between the prior and convent of St. Peter's, Ipswich, and Thomas Stace of Ipswich, according to which it appears that Thomas held of the convent a messuage for which he paid yearly 9 *d.*, a cock, and a hen, and in return received of the cellarer of the convent "one white conventual loaf of greater weight, a flagon of conventual ale, and a dish of meat". The prior and the convent agreed to release him from the payment of the cock and the hen, and he in turn released them from the bread, ale and meat.²¹ In 1339 John de Stoke and Beatrix, his wife, granted to John le Man, jun., of Ipswich, all the free tenement which they had built over the shop of Thomas Stace from the height of the same shop nine feet from the ground, etc.²²

The records relating to the trial have been treated in chapter III. Thomas Scace (Stace), Geoffrey Scace, Wm. Malyn, and others were ordered, on Aug. 30, 1312, to be tried for breaking into certain dykes, etc. at Brokes by Ipswich, and fishing and carrying away the fish from there.²³ A commission of oyer and terminer, dated Aug. 29, 1324, informs us that "Geoffrey Stace, Henry his brother, * * * Thomas Stace" and others made conspiracies in the town of Ipswich and compelled others by unlawful oaths to swear to maintain and defend them in all points, and that they furthermore be-seiged the bailiffs in the house of John de Preston, breaking

¹⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 10 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 32. The records are not the appointments of Thomas as deputy, but writs *de intendendo* for the various men who had been appointed deputies. These usually followed the appointments closely, often immediately.

²⁰ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 10 Edw. II., m. 2 d.

²¹ *Ancient Deeds*, II, A 3751.

²² *De Recognitionibus*, 13 Edw. III.; Redstone, *op. cit.*, note 5.

²³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 6 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 21 d.; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 192.

down the door thereof, entering the house and beating them and others who were in their company there for the preservation of the peace, and by their continual menaces prevented them from exercising their proper offices.²⁴ I think that Thomas Stace might here be the son and not the father, and in the following record we have what seems to me the only one which points rather to the son than to the father. Thomas and Henry Stace, who here appear to be the tenants of the earl of Pembroke, and three others were imprisoned in co. Norfolk, in 1340, charged with trespasses.²⁵

There was also at this time a Thomas Stace at Great Yarmouth, who may have been of the same family. On June 24, 1331, he was granted the office of controller of the customs on wools, hides, wool-fells, wines, and other small customs due the king in the port of Yarmouth and thence along the coast as far as Ipswich.²⁶ He succeeded John de Ocle. There is another reference to him as the controller of the customs at Great Yarmouth, dated Oct. 16, 1331;²⁷ since the record is the appointment of a controller of the new and old customs at Great Yarmouth, and refers to Thomas as "late controller", it may be that he was superseded in his office at this time. I think, however, that the "late" refers to the fact that he had lately been appointed controller; instances of such a use of the word occur elsewhere in the *Rolls*, and furthermore, on March 26, 1332, the king appointed Thomas de Drayton to the office which was granted Thomas Stace in 1331 and referred to Thomas as holding it at the time of the appointment of Drayton.²⁸ Nevertheless, on Feb. 1, 1334, and May 25, 1334, Thomas was reap-

²⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 29 d. Mr. Rye (*op. cit.*) wrongly refers to "pt. II" of the *Pat. Rolls*, and says that a Nicholas Stace, brother to Geoffrey and Henry, was also concerned in the riot. He gives the reference to the *Patent Rolls* just given, and although no mention is made of Nicholas in the *Cal.* he is doubtless included among the "others". He is not mentioned in the document where Geoffrey, Thomas, John and Henry are said to be brothers.

²⁵ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 14 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 31 d.

²⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 5 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 33.

²⁷ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 5 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 1.

²⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 6 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 15.

pointed to be controller of customs on both wools and wines in Great Yarmouth and thence along the coast to Ipswich, provided that he write the rolls with his own hand, stay there continually, and attend to the office in person.²⁹ See the appointment of Geoffrey Chaucer to a similar position in London under similar conditions (*L. R.*, IV, 191).

On April 1, 1339, the mayor, bailiffs and men of Great Yarmouth were ordered to elect a controller of customs for that port in place of Thomas Stacy, deceased.³⁰ On Oct. 4, 1384, a protection for one year was granted to Thomas Stace of Great Yarmouth, probably son of the preceding Thomas, being about to go beyond the seas in the king's service; as he did not go, the protection was later revoked.³¹ On Dec. 12, 1387, the bailiffs of Great Yarmouth and others were appointed to arrest and deliver him to the warden of Flete prison, he being an outlaw in Norfolk for a debt of ten pounds owed to a citizen of Norwich.³²

Fortunately there is no ambiguity about the remaining members of the family; Geoffrey, Henry, and John were brothers, Geoffrey appearing to be the most prominent of the three. The only reference to John is a notice that John, son of Thomas Stace, was killed in the suburbs of Ipswich previous to Aug. 25, 1321.³³ Mention has already been made of Henry in 1324. Other records tell us that he and Thomas Westhale and other men of Ipswich were accused, on Nov. 10, 1324, of robbing the ship of John Fairher, who came to trade in Ipswich, and that, by feigned complaints, they had him impleaded in the court of Ipswich, the bailiffs of which place paid no attention to the king's command to do him justice.³⁴ The king later (Dec. 22, 1324) appointed commissioners, who were commanded to see that justice was done to him and that he received damages both for his goods lost and for the delay.³⁴

²⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 8 Edw. III., pt. I, mm. 16, 42.

³⁰ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 13 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 34.

³¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 8 Ric. II., pt. I, m. 23.

³² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 11 Ric. II., pt. I, m. 2 d.

³³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 15 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 19 d.

³⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 13 d.; pt. II, m. 37 d.

As already related, Geoffrey and Agnes purchased the tavern and lands held by John Chaucer and sold them to Thomas le Cutter, Richard de Leyham, and John his brother. In 1327 Geoffrey and Agnes were concerned in a law suit regarding the possession of three messuages, a tavern, two shops, and a cottage, situated in the parish of St. Lawrence, Ipswich, alongside the Hennemarket, which had once been owned by Andrew de Dynyngton, and which Geoffrey and Agnes claimed on the ground that Isabella Malyn, the wife of Andrew and the mother of Agnes, had died seised of them. The suit went against them, but they were released from the twenty shillings damages which the jurors assessed (*Redstone, op. cit.*, 190).

In addition to the references which have already been made to Geoffrey, "Geoffrey, son of Thomas Stace", and others were accused, March 12, 1317, of having assaulted Roger Bille at Braunford in Suffolk,³⁵ and on May 4, 1324, John, parson of the church at Petrestre, put Geoffrey Stace and William de Crossefeld in his place to show cause in chancery concerning a certain transfer of real estate.³⁶ He was also burgess for Ipswich in 1311-17 and 1327.³⁷ The events of the trial, extending from 1324 to 1330, have been related in chapter III and need not be repeated here.

On the Sunday after St. Gregory the Pope (March 12), 1334, Geoffrey Stace and Wm. Ringgyld, bailiffs of Ipswich, and others were witnesses to a transfer of real estate.³⁸ He and John Irpe were appointed, on April 1, 1338, to make diligent scrutiny in the port of Ipswich and the coast towns in co. Suffolk as far as the mouth of the Thames, so that no one should take sterling silver in sheet, gold or silver vessels out of the realm without the king's license,³⁹ and on July 13 of the same year he acknowledged that he owed Robert de Kelm 250 *l.*,

³⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 10 Edw. II., pt. II, mm. 24 d., 23 d.; *Redstone, op. cit.*, 192.

³⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Edw. II., m. 13 d.

³⁷ *Rye, op. cit.* (no references given).

³⁸ *Ancient Deeds*, II, A 3394.

³⁹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 12 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 19 d.

to be levied, etc., of his lands and chattels in co. Suffolk.⁴⁰ On Feb. 6, 1344, he received a general pardon, "as well for the time of the late king as for the present king".⁴¹ Four days later he received protection during pleasure, being appointed to sue the king's business before the justices in the county of Southampton,⁴² and on July 10, 1344, another protection was granted him because he had been threatened by his enemies on account of certain business which he had prosecuted before the justices in co. Suffolk.⁴³

In 1343 he claimed of Walter, son of William Smyth, the tavern and houses which were sold by the Blakeneyes to Walter Smyth.⁴⁴ After the death of his wife Agnes, Geoffrey married Christine, the widow of Geoffrey Costyn, yeoman of the Duke of Suffolk, who had been murdered in a quarrel.⁴⁵ The last reference to him is dated Nov. 24, 1345, and is a pardon to him for his outlawry in the husting of London for non-appearance to answer touching a plea of Nicholas de Stratton, citizen and rope-maker of London, that he render an account for the time when he was his receiver.⁴⁶ The pardon was granted upon the certificate of the chief justice that Geoffrey had surrendered to the Flete Prison. Simon Stace, who with many others, was accused of carrying away part of the goods of a ship wrecked on the coast of Norfolk near Bronholm (Feb. 18, 1315),⁴⁷ and Simon Stacy, who escaped from the sheriff's prison in London in 1386, may perhaps be of the same family.⁴⁸

A review of the preceding pages will cause one to agree with Mr. Rye that the Staces were masterful men who would not have thought much of the forcible abduction and marriage of a boy. A large proportion of the records relate to trespasses

⁴⁰ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 2 Edw. III., m. 20 d.

⁴¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 41.

⁴² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 41.

⁴³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 31.

⁴⁴ *De Recognitionibus*, 17 Edw. III.; Redstone, *op. cit.*, note 34.

⁴⁵ Redstone, *op. cit.*, 193.

⁴⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 19 Edw. III., pt. III, m. 10.

⁴⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 8 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 2 d.

⁴⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Ric. II., pt. II, m. 8 d.; 11 Ric. II., pt. I, m. 30 d.; pt. II, mm. 27 d., 31 d.

of various sorts committed by the Staces, or pardons for misdeeds in which they were concerned. The following records refer to Staces which have shown no connection with those of Ipswich; they are added for the sake of future study and in the event of their later being shown to be of value.

Richard Stace: *Cal. Close Rolls*, 5 Edw. I., m. 6 d. (1276); *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 12 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 25 d. (1318); *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 5 Ric. II., pt. I, m. 22 (1381). Giles Stace: *Close Rolls*, 1340. Gilbert Stace: *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 11 (1327). Robert Stace: *Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Edw. II., m. 13 d. (1324); 7 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 6 (1333); 9 Edw. III., m. 26 (1335). William Stace: *Cal. Close Rolls*, 11 Edw. II., m. 6 d. (1318); *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 6 d. (1346). Stephen Stace: *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 7 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 11 (1313). Bennet Stacy: *Ancient Deeds*, II, C 2242. Geoffrey Stacy: *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 19 (1335). John Stace: *Hundred Rolls for London, circa 1274*; Rye, *op. cit.*; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 4 Edw. I., m. 14 (1276); *Ancient Deeds*, II, C 2073 (1366-7); *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 18 d. (1335); *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 5 Ric. II., pt. II, m. 3 (1382); *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 11 Edw. III., pt. III, m. 21 (1337); *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 7 Ric. II., pt. I, m. 39 d. (1383); *Ancient Deeds*, III, B 4212; I, C 914 (1396-7); II, B 2506 (1362-3); *Papal Reg.*, I, 34; III, 97, 219; I, 110 (1344-47).

Mr. Redstone's discoveries have added new importance to the family of Malyn, and much has already been given in the preceding pages concerning them.⁴⁹ I have here collected what additional information I could, mainly as a step toward the wider knowledge of them that must come with the examination of the records. Just who they were and what was their connection with Dennington has not been satisfactorily ascertained. There is some doubt about the location of Dennington; the town in Suffolk of that name would be the most natural selection, but no Malyns have been found which show connection with the Suffolk Dennington, nor does the name occur

⁴⁹ For a table showing the family relations of the various members of the Chaucer-Malyn family see p. 142.

in the records of "Dynnnynton", co. Berkshire, the town which has traditionally laid claim to be that from which the ancestors of Geoffrey Chaucer came. The *Letter-Book G* of the *City of London Records* mentions Roger de Donyngton, purveyor, 1358; Richard de Mallynge, vintner, 1358; and John de Mallinge, vintner, dwelling near the Cornhill in the same year, which would seem to point toward Mallinge in Kent as the home of the ancestors of Chaucer, but the Ipswich family were always called Malyn, never de Mallinge. There has been some difficulty in distinguishing between Malyn and Malines, the latter of which is often spelt Malyns.

"It is well known that both the poet's father and grandfather were taverners, but it has not yet been definitely established why they assumed the trade name, Chaucer. Without doubt the Malyns of Ipswich were connected with the flourishing shoe-making industry in the town, perhaps as makers of 'chausses', or as manufacturers of ordinary leather shoes. It is certain that they held shops and 'seldae' used by the sutors of St. Mary-le-Tower parish, but it was only as residents of Cordewainer Street, London, that the Suffolk Malyns, Robert, John, Richard, Henry, Nicholas, Simon, and others received the name Chaucer. I have not met with the name as adopted by Suffolk craftsmen, other than those of the Chaucer-Malyn family. * * * No other member [save Robert] of the Malyn family residing in Ipswich was engaged in any branch of the leather industry: they were for the most part clerks and merchants". (Redstone, *op. cit.*, 186.)

It would thus seem that the name Chaucer was applied to the Malyns upon their removal from Ipswich to the Cordwaner-strete Ward, London, irrespective of their occupations, and that the transference of the name was not limited to Robert and Richard. There were also Malyns by the name of Geoffrey, Thomas, William, Elias, Henry, John, Nicholas, Simon,—names which are also found among the Chaucers—some of whom we know to have later assumed the name of Chaucer. As has been said, it is not known just who the Malyns were, where they came from, or how they came to assume the name Chaucer.

I think that perhaps a clue to these questions may be found in John Malyn of Amiens, merchant, of 1318. The probability of his identity with John de Amyens, citizen and saddler, of London, who gave a tenement to Thomas Heyroun, has already been discussed on page 70. It has also been shown that foreign merchants were not only accorded the freedom of the city of London but regarded as citizens (p. 25), and that there was a Richard Malyn who was a saddler. There would thus be Robert Malyn of Ipswich and London, saddler and vintner, who died between 1312 and 1315; John Malyn of Amiens and London, saddler and merchant, 1318; and Richard Malyn, saddler, 1348. Might not the name be of foreign origin (perhaps connected with Malines in Belgium), and might not the name Chaucer have come to be applied to them on account of their manufacture of saddles and their therefore natural residence in Cordwanerstrete Ward, London? That is to say, might we not suppose something like the following course of events to have taken place. The family was named Malyn and came from France, settling in London and Ipswich; some of them engaged in the manufacture of saddles, and to these the name of Saddler was naturally applied. The Malyns settling around Ipswich retained for the most part their original name, with an occasional variant due to the occupation in which they were engaged or the town from which they came, *e. g.*, William le Taverner, Andrew de Dennington. On the other hand, the Malyns who settled in London, some of them being workers in leathers, perhaps even chaucers in very fact, naturally turned to Cordwanerstrete Ward, the abode of the hosiers and chaucers, and once there, the general name of Chaucer was applied to them, chaucer as a trade-name being much more common than either saddler or hosier. It would of course be a very loose use of the trade-name chaucer, but abundant proof has already been given that names were loosely used in that period. Once the name had started, the residence of the Chaucers in Cordwanerstrete Ward would be sufficient to perpetuate the use of it as a surname, whatever the occupation of the owner.

Such a theory is in accord with the facts in the case as we now know them, and would especially account for the fact that

the Malyns appear to have kept the name Malyn during their residence in Ipswich, but to have assumed the name Chaucer upon their removal to London. It also agrees with the evidence given by the name Chaucer as to the origin of the family, the occurrence of the Latin form *calcearius*, and the possession by many of the Chaucers of Christian names which were more common in France than in England (see p. 16). However, as the author of the life of Chaucer prefixed to Urry's edition of his works, said of his guess that John was the poet's father, "As this is proposed with submission to better Judgments, so I lay no greater stress upon it than the reasons suggested will bear". I trust that my "guess" may be as correct as his has proved to be.

William Malyn, the mortgagee of the tavern of Andrew the Taverner in 1288, married Ismanie by whom he had a son, Richard Malyn, *alias* Richard Chaucer, the step-grandfather of the poet. Ismanie may also have been the mother of Richard's brother, Simon, who was killed in Cordwanerstrete Ward, London, in 1336. William Malyn is probably the William Malyn, "senior", that owned land in Cleydon, Whytyngton, Thirleston, Westerfeld, Alnesbrunne, Ipswich, and the suburbs of Ipswich in 1345.⁵⁰ The other William Malyn, senior, was dead by 1338, and his son William would hardly have been referred to as William Malyn, senior. The father of Richard died about 1354, since his will was proved in that year.⁵¹

William the Taverner of Ipswich in the *Lay Subsidy Roll*, 1283, is the William Malyn, taverner, of the *Borough Records*, who is mentioned in a will proved at Ipswich in 1311-12, as William de Dennington, proprietor of the "Holletaverne", standing in Cooks' Rowe, Ipswich. Other records which refer either to him or his son William are a mention of the old tavern of William Malyn in Ipswich in 1334,⁵² and an agreement drawn up between John Haltebe and William Malyn, referring to rent arising from "*le Nouvelle Taverne*" of William Ma-

⁵⁰ Rye, *Suffolk Fines*, 201.

⁵¹ Redstone, *op. cit.*, note 27.

⁵² *De Probatis Testamentis*, 8 Edw. III.; Redstone, *op. cit.*, note 3.

lyn, in the street called *the Cowerye*, of Ipswich.⁵³ William Malyn of Ipswich, with Thomas and Geoffrey Stace, broke into a fishing preserve in 1312,⁵⁴ and as bailiff of Ipswich he was witness to a deed on Sunday, the Feast of the Holy Trinity, 1323.⁵⁵ After his death, his wife Albreda (Audrey) kept the Holly tavern, and in a quarrel in March, 1338, received her death blow with a sword,⁵⁶ whereupon the care of the tavern fell upon her son, William Malyn. This William Malyn married first, Emma, by whom he had a son John, and three daughters, Margaret, Alice, and Elizabeth; as his second wife he married Joan Tilney.

He was owed sixty pounds, July 15, 1338;⁵⁷ on Oct. 29, 1346, he was excused from outlawries prosecuted against him because he had been in the king's service in Ireland in the nineteenth year of the reign from Purification (Feb. 2) until three weeks from Easter following, and in Britanny from Easter last until Midsummer following.⁵⁸ On June 25, 1344, by a fine of 300 marks, he was pardoned for taking part in "all manner of oppressions, conspiracies, maintaining of quarrels, champarties, detaining of the king's wool and money, and taking wool to foreign parts uncocketed and uncustomed, and victuals and merchandise to Scotland contrary to the king's command, for having departed from Brittany with his ship called *la Malyn* without the king's licence, and all other trespasses; and of consequent outlawries; and restitution to him of all goods taken into the king's hands for these reasons" was ordered.⁵⁹ He seems to have been fortunate in securing par-

⁵³ *De Recognitionibus*, 5 6 (*sic*) Edw. III.; Redstone, *op. cit.*, note 4. I am uncertain as to the date of this record. If it is intended for 56 Edw. III. (1382), John would have been dead at that time (p. 128). It may be for 5-6 Edw. III., which would be 1331-32, or there may have been two John de Haltebes. If 1382 be the correct date it cannot refer to the father.

⁵⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 6 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 21 d.

⁵⁵ *Ancient Deeds*, II, A 3615.

⁵⁶ *Coroner's Roll*, Ipswich, 11 Edw. III.; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 193.

⁵⁷ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 12 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 23 d.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 1 d.

⁵⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 46; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 193.

dons, for there is one similar to the one just mentioned, but dated three days earlier, and including homicide among the list of trespasses; he and Emma, his wife, were pardoned for the death of John de Halteby, on July 10, 1346, and his lands, which had escheated to the king by reason of his outlawry, were restored to him.⁶⁰

Another general pardon to him and Emma for all "homicides, felonies, robberies, and trespasses in England, whereof they are appealed", is dated Oct. 26, 1346.⁶¹ Just one year later, Oct. 20, 1347, there is mention of "the confederacy and deceit between John Cobat and Walter Brian and their fellows at the house of William son of William Malyn, upon the taking of divers merchandise from that port [Ipswich] without the custom";⁶² and strange to say, the next we hear of him, Feb. 12, 1348, he is receiving six pounds, eight shillings, for his expenses in attending Parliament as a burgess of Ipswich.⁶³ The sum represented the payment of two shillings per day for thirty-two days.

All of the above mentioned records refer to the William who was the son of William Malyn of Ipswich, and hence refer to but one man. There are several other records which refer either to him or to his father—since his father died before 1338, and since we know the son to have been a merchant, to have been concerned in several trespasses, and to have been a burgess, I am inclined to refer the following to him rather than to his father. A commission was issued on Sept. 14, 1309, upon the complaint of William Malyn and others, merchants, "that in a vessel laden with goods from Bruges they put into the port of Orford, co. Suffolk, where divers persons boarded their ship, carried away the goods and sunk the ship".⁶⁴ A similar commission upon the complaint of the same men for a similar deed is dated March 1, 1311.⁶⁵ William Malyn of Ips-

⁶⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 13.

⁶¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., pt. IV, m. 19.

⁶² *Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 13.

⁶³ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 33 d.

⁶⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 3 Edw. II., m. 34 d.

⁶⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 4 Edw. II., pt. II, m. 23 d.

wich sold two sacks of wool previous to July 28, 1338,⁶⁶ and on July 17, 1342, he was pardoned for plundering a ship which was under the king's protection, "because he has caused some of his own ships to be manned and fitted out at his own charge, and he and his men will go for two months on the king's service with the fleet assembling in the north, and he is diligently attendant upon the array of ships at Great Yarmouth for this service, as appears by the letters of Robert de Morle, admiral of the said fleet".⁶⁷

There is mention of a William Malyn and Agnes, his wife, in Nottinghamshire in 1298-9.⁶⁸ As this was the county with which Agnes Chaucer's first husband was connected, the appearance of a Malyn there may have a slight significance.

John Malyn, son of William, and Elias Malyn of Ipswich had general pardons for their good service in the war with France, Sept. 4, 1346.⁶⁹ John Malyn and others were accused, Sept. 11, 1348, of breaking into a house and carrying away the goods at Claydon, a small town just north of Ipswich.⁷⁰ These are all the records that I have discovered referring to John Malyn of Ipswich. The following should probably be classed with those already given. John Malyn and others committed trespasses in a park at Saxelby, co. Lincoln, in 1335;⁷¹ John Malyn and others arrested a ship outside of Plymouth and carried away her goods in 1336;⁷² and in the following year John Malyn, master of *la cogge Johan* of Bristol, was granted a protection by the King for having used his ship in the King's service.⁷³ That John was not the owner of *la cogge Johan* is shown by a record dated in 1338, according to which a protection and safe conduct until Easter was granted to John Malyn, master of a ship of Thomas Tropyn called *Cogyon* of

⁶⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 12 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 16.

⁶⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 33.

⁶⁸ *Feet Fines*, Notts., 27 Edw. I.; communicated by Mr. Redstone in a letter.

⁶⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., pt. IV, m. 11.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 4 d.

⁷¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 27 d.

⁷² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 10 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 9 d., m. 2 d.

⁷³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 11 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 10.

Bristol, which was being sent out to Gascony with the King's licence.⁷⁴ John seems to have kept up the traditions of the family both as to trespasses and seafaring. A John Malyn held a messuage and virgate of land in Pulteneye in 1340,⁷⁵ and some one of that name owned land in cos. Lancaster and Bedford in 1346.⁷⁶

In the same year there is a pardon to brother John Malyn of the order of the Friars Minors, of the King's suit against him for all homicides, felonies, robberies in England, whereof he is appealed, and of any consequent outlawries.⁷⁷ Mr. Redstone (p. 188) refers to "John the friar" and thinks that he may have been the son of Andrew the Taverner. There is a group of records referring to a John Malyn of 1393-4,⁷⁸ and some one of that name was a commissioner and owned land in Bedford in 1428.⁷⁹ John Malyn, merchant of Amiens, 1318, has been discussed on pp. 70, 125. It has been suggested that Robert de Suffolk was another variant of Robert le Chaucer (p. 66), and if so, there seems to be even more evidence in favour of accepting John de Suffolk, who was associated with Robert le Chaucer in 1310, as of the Malyn-Chaucer family (see p. 22). In his will, which was undated, he left bequests to John, his son, and Benedict, his brother—there are several Johns and Benedicts among the Chaucers. I do not think it likely that he was the John Malyn who was the son of William, nor would I even insist upon regarding him as a Malyn at all, but have wished merely to call attention to the possibility of his connection with the Malyn-Chaucers.

I have found two references to a Nicholas Malyn, who may have been the one referred to by Mr. Redstone (p. 188) as a son of Andrew the Taverner. In 1320, in company with others, he broke into a park in co. Gloucester,⁸⁰ and in 1331, the abbot

⁷⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 11 Edw. III., pt. III, m. 6.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 14 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 49 d.

⁷⁶ *Feudal Aids*, I, 28, 34.

⁷⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 14.

⁷⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 17 Ric. II., pt. 2, m. 15, m. 14; 18 Ric. II., pt. I, m. 16.

⁷⁹ *Feudal Aids*, I, 44, 45.

⁸⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 14 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 19 d.

and convent of Stonele acquired from him in mortmain without licence a messuage and lands⁸¹ (see Nicholas Chaucer, p. 29).

We have seen that Richard Chaucer was known as Richard Malyn; since he died in 1349 he cannot be identified with the Richard Malyn who broke into a close in Norfolk in 1386,⁸² or the Richard Malyn who held the church of Brembre, in the diocese of Chichester, in 1391.⁸³ The collectors and receivers of the customs on corn in the port of London were ordered, July 26, 1347, to repay to William Heroun, Richard Mallyng, and others, merchants of the city of London, the customs which they had paid on their corn, since the corn was not sent to Gascony, but by the King's orders shipped back to London to relieve the famine there.⁸⁴ Richard de Mallynge, vintner, and other citizens of London acknowledged that they owed John de Wygan, citizen of London, 3000 *l.* to be levied, etc., of their lands and chattels in co. Berkshire (Dec. 8, 1347).⁸⁵ Further mention of him occurs in *Letter-Book G* of the *City of London Records*, in the year 1358, which would be sufficient to prove that he was not Richard Chaucer. Furthermore, according to Mr. Redstone (p. 194) the Ipswich family were always called Malyn, never de Mallynge, which would tend to throw the other record out. The two are probably identical, and are to be classed with the Richard Mallyng who was an executor of Richard Chaucer's will. Richard Malyn, "sadeler", and others were accused, July 1, 1348, of trespassing upon the king's castle at York.⁸⁶ The title "sadeler" is significant owing to its use in connection with Robert Chaucer, he having been known as Robert the Sadeler (see p. 61). The significance of the title has been commented upon on p. 125.

These are all the Malyns that seem likely to be related to the Malyns of Ipswich. For the sake of reference and

⁸¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 5 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 10.

⁸² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Ric. II., pt. 2, m. 30 d.

⁸³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 15 Ric. II., pt. 2, m. 28.

⁸⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 34.

⁸⁵ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 8 d.

⁸⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 23 d.

future study I have added without comment the remaining references to those of that name which I have gathered.

William Malyn: *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 5 Ric. II., pt. II, m. 35 d. (1382). Geoffrey Malyn: *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 4 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 9 d. (1330). Thomas Malyns: *Feudal Aids*, I, 42 (1428). Reginald Malyns: *Feudal Aids*, I, 57 (1401-2).

A review of the Malyns shows that they were even more rough and "masterful" than their neighbors, the Staces, nearly all the records being notices of either trespasses or pardons for them. They were, however, by no means alone in their lawlessness, and a great deal of the misdemeanors charged to their account and that of the Staces must be ascribed to the times in which they lived. It was a period of strife and party warfare, and law and order were not upheld in the land.

Agnes Malyn, the sister of Robert Chaucer, married Walter de Westhale before 1307, and in 1327, some years after his death, she became the wife of Geoffrey Stace. The Westhales probably derived their name from the town of Westhall in Suffolk. Walter de Westhale and Agnes, his wife, owned lands in Resshemere, Toddeham, and Playford, in 1306-7;⁸⁷ and in Whytenton, Cleydon, Bergham, Blakenham on water, and Westerfield in 1310;⁸⁷ Walter was in 1314 manucaptor of Wm. de Deene, Knight of the Shire for Suffolk, and in 1322 was bailiff of Ipswich.⁸⁷ As shown by the trial he died before 1326, probably before Dec. 3, 1324. A Walter de Westhale was made canon of Southwell in 1373.⁸⁸

There are several other Westhales who show a connection with Ipswich. Thomas de Westhale was associated with Henry Stace in the trespass upon John Fairher already mentioned, and was one of the rioters who resisted the collection of tolls by Thomas Stace in Ipswich, March 1, 1321. A commission dated Feb. 17 of the same year shows him to have been concerned in other trespasses,⁸⁹ and on July 12, 1324, he was accused of being one of a number of men of Ipswich who had made unlawful confederacies to defend each other, under cover

⁸⁷ Rye, *Ath.*, Jan. 29, 1881, 166; *Suffolk Fines*, pp. 113, 121-2.

⁸⁸ *Cal. Papal Registers, Papal Letters*, IV, 188.

⁸⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 14 Edw. II., pt. II, m. 22 d.

of which they had put divers injuries upon other men of Ipswich who had refused to join them, had caused innocent men to be convicted and criminals to be acquitted, had levied customs in their name and for their own use, etc.;⁹⁰ on April 25, 1327, he received a general pardon.⁹¹

Adam de Westhale is mentioned as an attorney in Suffolk on June 15, 1307;⁹² he was appointed attorney for John de Fresingfeld who was going beyond the seas on the king's service, May 6, 1309;⁹³ and was connected with Thomas Stace and his son Thomas in the trespass against the Bishop of Norwich in 1315. Roger de Westhale and others committed various trespasses in Bekles, co. Suffolk, as appears by a commission dated May 5, 1302.⁹⁴ Henry de Westhale of Westhale, co. Suffolk, and others were concerned in certain trespasses in the early part of 1319,⁹⁵ and a Henry de Westhale is mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, III, B 3961, n. d., as receiving land in Huntingdon.

There are several references to William de Westhale, but he does not appear to be related to the Westhales of Ipswich in any way (cf. *Close Rolls*, 18 Edw. I., m. 13 d.; 3 Edw. II., m. 13; m. 26 d.; m. 11 d.). The same is true of Richard de Westhale (for whom see *Calendar of Fines for London and Middlesex*, ed. Hardy and Page, London, 1 Edw. II., No. 2; Rye, *Ath.*, Nov. 19, 1892, 704; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 31 Edw. I., m. 29 (1302-3); *Ancient Deeds*, I, C 837 (1415)) and Thomas de Westhale of Ireland (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 11 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 23).

In conclusion I have added a brief account of several of the citizens of London with whom John was more or less associated, partly as the contribution of the *Life Records* toward a more complete knowledge of them, and mainly for the sake

⁹⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 36 d.

⁹¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 11.

⁹² *Year Books of the Selden Society*, Vol. II.

⁹³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 2 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 8.

⁹⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 30 Edw. I., m. 23 d.

⁹⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 12 Edw. II., pt. I, m. 1 d.

of the background which they furnish for the lives of the Chaucers.

The most important of these associates was Thomas Heyroun, John's half-brother. The name appears as Heroun (14), Hayroun (27), Hayron (23, 25), Heyron (14, 89, 207), Heyroun (22, 24, 26, 28), Heyrun (p. 134). He was the son of John Heyroun and was born some years before 1307, as his mother was then married to Robert Chaucer (1); a Thomas Heyron of London was witness to a deed on March 7, 1274.⁹⁶ He was a citizen and vintner of London in 1339, and remained such until his death in 1349 (14, 23). He is known to have possessed a tenement in the parish of St. Michael of Pater-nostercherche, Vintry Ward (p. 70); a shop in the parish of St. Antonin (p. 88); tenements in the parish of St. Mary of Aldermarichirche (p. 89), and an interest in a tenement in St. Antonin (p. 68). John was witness to a transfer of property by Thomas in 1339 (p. 84), and was the executor of his will and the seller of his tenements (p. 88). He is mentioned in Richard's will (p. 78), and served on a jury with Henry le Waleys, then Mayor of London, John of Northampton, and others in a case concerning the payment of a certain sum of money to the City by Arnold, the son of Thedmarus.⁹⁷ It has been proved that he was John's half-brother; hence Mr. Kirk (p. xi) is putting it too mildly when he writes, "There is also evidence that John was half-brother of Thomas Heyron".

William Heyron, a vintner, was witness to a transfer of rent to Richard Chaucer (p. 77); to Thomas's will (p. 68), and to the sale of one of Thomas's tenements by John (p. 88). In 1362 he was among those summoned before the King for the probable purpose of raising money (p. 95). He executed several deeds in 1366 (*Trial Forewords*, 135, note 1), and it is almost certain that he was related to Thomas in some degree (for Wm. Heroun, merchant, 1347, see p. 131). Mention has already been made of John Heyroun who accompanied John Chaucer to Flanders in 1338, and who was a resident of Cordwanerstrete Ward in 1302 (p. 23; see also Skeat, I, p. xli).

⁹⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 2 Edw. I., m. 12 d.

⁹⁷ *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, (Camden Soc.) 241.

The family of Heroun is an extensive one, the names often merging with those of the Heron family, and there are many Williams and Johns among them. They have therefore been reserved for future study, and I have included here merely the references which referred to Mary and her son Thomas, and those in the *Life Records* referring to William and John.

Another fellow-vintner with whom John Chaucer appears to have been often associated was John de Stodeye. He was among the fifteen vintners mentioned in 1342, and in the loan of 3000 *l.* to the King, in which Richard paid 10 *m.*, Stodeye was assessed 40 *s.* The same deeds which appointed John Chaucer deputy to the King's Butler in the ports of Southampton, &c., appointed him to similar positions in the port of London, and he was also associated with John Chaucer in 1347 in the commission to arrest certain persons who had acted prejudicial to the king's rights. He and John Chaucer are witnesses to a deed to Henry Picard in 1352; in 1356 he was among the 170 merchants summoned before the King and Council for the purpose of consulting on "certain arduous affairs". In 1363 John and Agnes acknowledged that they had granted to him ten and a half acres of land, and in 1365, twenty-four shops and two gardens were transferred to him by the same persons. His will is dated Mar. 22, 1375, and enrolled in the *Husting Rolls*, 104, No. 123, in Oct., 1376, Nicholas Brembre being among the legatees.⁶⁸

Stow gives us further particulars concerning him in his *Survey*, pp. 41, 90, 189; II, p. 281 (1784). From this we learn that he was known as Sir John Stodie, vintner; that in 1357 he gave Spital Lane, "with all the quadrant wherein Vintners Hall now standeth with the tenements round about, unto the Vintners", after having first, in 2 Edw. III., given it to the Church. He was Sheriff of the City in 1352, and Mayor in 1357. From his assessment it might be inferred that he was not so rich as Richard, but perhaps richer than John. Stow, however, shows that he was a prominent figure in the London of the fourteenth century, and John's relations with

⁶⁸ R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, II, 49, 191; W. Rye, *Ath.*, Nov. 19, 1892, 704.

him speak well for the social rank of the Chaucers. Mr. Rye stated that he was a Norfolk vintner and apparently of Lynn.⁹⁹

Another person who came into touch with the Chaucers was Andrew Aubrey. He is first mentioned as holding a leasehold interest in a tenement held under Richard, Mary, and Thomas; he was assessed 100 *l.* in 1340, being then Mayor; and in 1341 Richard witnesses a deed of grant to him under the description of "citizen and pepperer of London". In 1345 he was Alderman of Cordwanerstrete Ward, and in 1349, while still Alderman, he received a tenement from John, as executor of Thomas (for the later history of this tenement see p. 89). Aubrey was among the 170 merchants who appeared before the King in 1356; he received by bequest the rents of a tenement in the parish of Holy Trinity the Less in 1349;¹⁰⁰ was Mayor of London in 1339, 1340, and 1351.¹⁰¹ His will was dated Oct. 3, 1349, and enrolled in May, 1358. In it he bequeathed tenements in the parishes of St. Mary de Aldermariecherche and St. Thomas the Apostle, those acquired from John Chaucer, tenements and rents in the parishes of St. Lawrence Jewry and All Hallow de Bredstrete, and an interest in the manor of Westchalke, co. Kent. Others who possibly deserve mention are Thomas de Caxton,¹⁰² who may have been related to the printer, and William de Thorneye (pp. 88, 89). Attention has already been called to Henry Picard and John de Wesenham (pp. 83, 85, 90, 110).

⁹⁹ *Feet of Fines*, Norfolk; *Ath.*, Nov. 19, 1892, 704.

¹⁰⁰ R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills*, I, 546.

¹⁰¹ Stow, *Survey*, 189.

¹⁰² W. D. Selby, *Acad.*, XII, 364.

SUMMARY.

In conclusion, it will be seen that in addition to what I hope may be found to be the general value of the monograph—the value of a complete and well-arranged account of hitherto neglected and often mis-written portions of the poet's biography—there have been several more or less direct results attained. For the sake of clearness it may be well to review these and also to note the points which have been stressed in the course of the study.

The history of the various sources from which the poet's name has been supposed to spring—from the office of *Chaufecire* in the Chancery; from the root *Cahors*, and the family of *Chaworth*; from the offices of the chase, Chaucer being equivalent to *Chaser*; and from the Old French *chaucier*, meaning 'a hosier'—has been given, and its derivation from the last of these has been placed practically beyond dispute. *Chaucier* was a fairly common trade name in the thirteenth century and regularly became used as a surname in France. In England the word became "chaucer", and was usually applied to shoemakers; this form was also of fairly common use both as a trade name and as a surname.

Richard and John Chaucer, as well as others of the family, dwelt in Cordwanerstrete Ward, London, the home of the shoemakers, and the name upon the poet's seal is spelt *Chaucier*; this variant is used elsewhere as referring to Robert, Richard, John, Geoffrey, and Thomas Chaucer. The growth of a surname from a trade name is well illustrated in the use of "le" in connection with Robert, Richard, and John; with Robert the "le" is always used; with Richard it is used at first and then omitted; and with John it is never used save in one instance. A list of somewhat formidable proportions of the various spellings of the poet's name affords a good example of the looseness of the orthography of the period and

inclines us to discount the spelling "Chaucy" as referring to the poet, that variant having been used only by John of Gaunt.

The references to the "early Chaucers" have been collected and presented in an orderly fashion, accompanied by the addition of several new records, the refutation of the false theories regarding them, and the confirmation of the more probable theories; John le Chaucer of Warwick has been discovered, and several more have been rescued from the depths of forgotten volumes of *Notes and Queries* and other periodicals. Chaucers have been found in Warwick, Lincoln, Buckingham, Essex, Norfolk, and London. The most prominent members of the name appear to have been John, 1293-1302; Henry, 1335-1374; Baldwin, 1301-1312; and Nicholas, 1348-1369; they are all of London, and the last three of them may not improbably have been related to the poet in some degree.

In each case save one in which the residence of a London Chaucer is given it is in Cordwanerstrete Ward, sometimes on Cordwanerstrete itself—a fact which is of significance for the etymology of the name, and which inclines us to believe that most of the Chaucers were of the same general family and were related to the poet. The facts gathered concerning these Chaucers show them to have been for the most part prominent and honorable citizens (cf. the tenor of the Stace and Malyn records), and accord with the prosperous respectability of the poet's own family. They also show that none of these Chaucers could have been a brother of Geoffrey, thus supporting the inference that the poet was the sole heir, which was drawn from his lease of his father's house. The list also affords those of an imaginative turn of mind an opportunity for fixing upon the namesakes of the poet and the poet's children.

The history of the discovery of Chaucer's parents has been given from the beginning, when no attempt was made to ascertain their names, up through the various guesses which were later put forth to the full solution of the question in 1905. A complete history of the trial of the Staces *et al.* for the abduction of John Chaucer has also been constructed, which has served to correct several errors in former accounts and to bring new facts to light with regard to the participants therein.

Thus, we now know that Geoffrey Stace's appeal for redress in 1328 came between the first verdict and the appeal for attain; that the jurors were the ones accused of attain, not Richard and Mary; that in 1330 Geoffrey prayed to be released from prison on the ground that he had satisfied John Chaucer who was then of age; and that his plea appears to have been successful. The trial has also enabled us to suggest a new birth year for John Chaucer, 1313, in place of 1312 and of the indefinite guesses which many scholars have made.

The trial was but the last of a series of disputes between John Chaucer and Agnes de Westhale concerning John's property, and the abduction was probably undertaken with the idea of securing the messuage mentioned in the trial, which consisted of two shops and a toft, and which was adjudged to belong to John in the November preceding the abduction. Failing in their attempt to secure the property by force, Geoffrey and Agnes later bought it.

The poet is shown to have descended from a Robert the Taverner of Ipswich, 1260, who was also termed Malyn of London. The family dwelt in Ipswich and were there known almost indiscriminately as Malyn, de Dennington, or le Taverner.¹ Most of them owned or kept taverns. The name Chaucer appears to have been given them upon their residence in Cordwanerstrete Ward, London, perhaps on account of the fact that this was the ward of the shoemakers and hosiers. The entire relationship back to Robert the Taverner, Geoffrey's great great grandfather, has been proved, and our knowledge of those distant forebears greatly widened. Maria Heyroun was Maria de Westhale, and Agnes de Westhale was Agnes Malyn, Robert le Chaucer's sister. Robert had extensive possessions in Ipswich, mainly in the Vintry, and was known as the "Saddler" by his Ipswich kinsfolk.

The few records relating to Robert show that he was not an unimportant citizen of the London of his time. It has been

¹ This change of name was not uncommon; several instances of it have been given in chapter I, and others could be given if necessary; see *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 17 Ric. II., pt. II, m. 17, Thomas de Clyveland, *alias* Clifeland, *alias* Thomas Taillour.

shown that Richard and Robert were first cousins; that Richard was a vintner of no mean importance in the city; and that he played an active part as deputy to the king's butler in the port of London. The amounts of money owed to him, his assessments by the king, his real estate transactions, and his will show him to have been a man of wealth. He was a resident of Cordwanerstrete Ward, where his brother Simon was murdered in 1336, but his place of dwelling cannot be more definitely located with any degree of certainty. Some believe him to have lived in the Vintry. The error in many of the attempts to locate his dwelling place has been pointed out.

The history of the poet's father as contained in the records has been given in full, with the correction of many minor misstatements which have been made concerning him. Thus, there is no evidence showing that Geoffrey owed his position in Prince Lionel's household to the mission of John to Flanders in 1338, or that in the mission John was connected with the commissariat. John's position as deputy to the king's butler has been clearly defined and our knowledge of it increased, thus showing that from Robert to Thomas, from deputy to chief butler, the Chaucers were of the Customs. Many careless statements concerning Agnes Chaucer have been corrected, and her date of marriage and lineage fixed as accurately as possible. Before her marriage to John Chaucer, she was married to some one by the name of Northwell, who was related to William de Northwell, the Keeper of the King's Wardrobe—a fact which suggests the channel through which Geoffrey became the page of the Countess of Ulster.

John's seal and the discussions concerning it have been described, and a list of the real estate which he owned shows that he might with reason be termed wealthy. A greater part of his landed property appears to have come to him through his wife; his dwelling place is usually held to be the Thames street house, though without strong proof. John's importance in the city and his wealth must have had an influence upon Geoffrey's youth and make it easy to explain the poet's prominence at Court and the question as to how a vintner's son could rise so high in social and royal circles. An examination

of the genuineness of the records relating to the Chaucers shows that a large percentage of them undoubtedly refer to the poet's family and that the probabilities are in favor of our acceptance of the remainder. The history of the attempts to locate the home of the Chaucers has been given, and it has been shown that the earlier ancestors of the poet dwelt in Ipswich, and that he himself was probably born in London.

In the final chapter all the available records relating to the Staces, Malyns, and Westhales have been collected and sifted, with the result that at least a beginning toward a fuller knowledge of the rock whence the poet was hewn and the pit whence he was digged has been gained. In their general tenor these records differ considerably from those described in chapter II—the Malyns and the Staces appear to have been more unrestrained than their Chaucer kinsfolk in London and elsewhere. The following theory has been suggested to account for the interchange of the names Malyn and Chaucer: the name and the family of Malyn were of foreign origin, and the name Chaucer was applied to those settling in Cordwaner-strete Ward on account of their residence therein and their relation to the leather industry through the occupation of saddlers; those settling in the county retained for the most part the original name. Sketches of John de Stodeye and Andrew Aubrey, two of John Chaucer's London associates, show them to have been citizens of unusual prominence, and support in an indirect way other evidence as to John's social and financial position.

Owing to the lack of attention paid to this particular portion of Chaucer's life, there have been many minor inaccuracies regarding it in the sketches of the poet (some thirty odd in the accounts given by Professor Skeat and Mr. Kirk, to mention only the two most authoritative). Since many of these sketches are accepted to-day as sources, I have throughout my work noted any errors, however slight, which I have discovered.

In the Appendix I have included a number of records referring to the ancestry of Chaucer which have not been previously known. It is hoped that they may, after a fashion, serve as a slight supplement to Mr. Kirk's monumental and painstaking compilation of the *Life Records*.

■

By the aid of these new records the occurrence of *chaucier* in Old French and its use as a surname have been firmly established; new details have been added to our knowledge of John le Chaucer of Warwick, 1273, John of London, 1302, Simon of London, 1340, and Nicholas of London, 1353; the history of the John Chaucer abduction trial has been carried two steps farther; Richard Chaucer's deputyship to the king's butler in the port of London has been, one might almost say, discovered anew, and additional proof of his wealth has been given in the amounts of money owed to him; John Chaucer's deputyship in the ports of Southampton, etc., has been made certain and our knowledge of his position increased; John has been shown in the rôle of a sheriff; and Agnes is shown to have married some one named Northwell before her marriage with John.

The table is based upon the similar one constructed by Mr. Redstone (*op. cit.*); I have, however, ventured to make a few changes in the original and to enlarge it at several points. It was thought best to group the entire relationship here rather than to split it up into several smaller tables scattered throughout the text, since repetition is thereby avoided and the complete relation of each member of the family with every other member can here be seen at a glance. Points worth notice are the chance which the great great grandson of the poet had of becoming King of England; the re-connection of the house of Chaucer with that of John of Gaunt through the marriage of Alice Montacute with Richard Neville; and the use of Agnes, Elizabeth, and Alice as feminine names in the Chaucer-Malyn family.

The names Philip and Philippa occur in Mr. Redstone's table as supposed children of Geoffrey, but I am unable to find who has made the conjecture, unless it be the author of the table. I have added Elizabeth and Agnes to the same category, and hope at a later date to include them in a study of Chaucer's children. The numbers below each name are the dates of their birth and death; if only one number is given, it refers to the date of death.

THE CHAUCER-MALYN FAMILY

ROBERT LE TAVERNER = Duce
alias Malyn of London.
-1280

ANDREW LE TAVERNER = Isabella, dau. of Walter
alias de Dennington. Aurifaber.

ROBERT MALYN = Mary de Westhale = John Heyroun = Richard Chaucer AGNES MALYN = Walter [Love] = Geoffrey Stace = Christine, wid. of Geoffrey
alias de Dennington, alias the Saddler, alias LE CHAUCER, -1312-15. -1349 de Westhale son of Thos.; bro. of Thos., John, and Henry Stace. Costyn.

Thomas Heyroun
-1349

JOHN CHAUCER = Agnes, niece and heiress of = de Northwell = Bartholomew ISABELLA MALYN = Thos. de Blakeney Sibyll de Westhale Joan de Westhale
alias de Dennington. Hamo de Copton. atte Chapel ux. Wm. de Knapton. ux. Robt. de B

GEOFFREY CHAUCER = Philippa Roet
1340-1400 -1387

Stephen Joan Christine
minors, 1349.

THOMAS CHAUCER = Matilda (Maud)
1367-1434 2nd dau. and coheir of Sir John de Burghersh.
1379-1436

Lewis Elizabeth? Agnes? Philip? Philippa?

Katherine Roet
sister to Philippa Roet,
wife of Geoffrey Chaucer. = John of Gaunt
Duke of La

ALICE CHAUCER = Wm. de la Pole
Duchess of Suffolk. 1404-1475. Earl, Marquis, Duke of Suffolk, beheaded 1450.

= Sir John Phelip = Thos. de Montacute
no issue. -1415 Earl of Salisbury, no issue. -1428

= Eleanor Holland

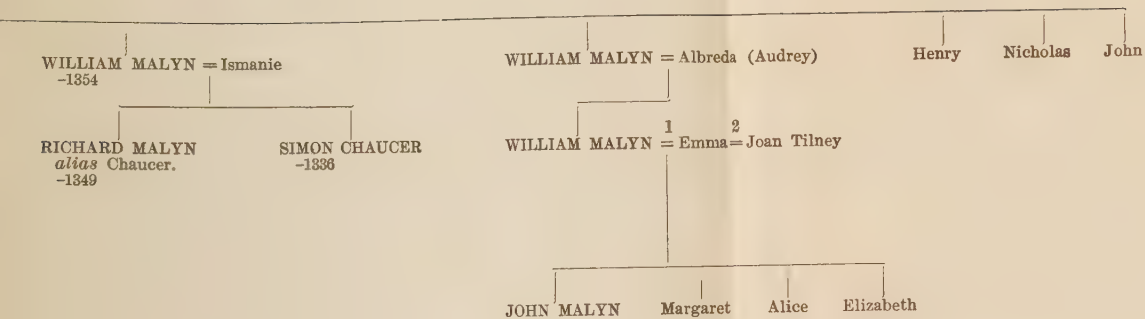
Ralph, Earl of = Joan Beaufort
Westmoreland -1425

John de la Pole = Elizabeth Plantagenet,
Duke of Suffolk. sister of Edw. IV.
-1491

Alice = Richard Neville
Earl of Salisbury.
-1460

John de la Pole
Earl of Lincoln, declared
heir-apparent by Ric. III.,
killed at battle of Stoke,
1487.

LY.



verley.

caster

APPENDIX.

The records occur in the order in which they are mentioned in the text, and, unless it is otherwise noted, are complete copies of the originals as given in the brackets below the descriptions of the records. The numbers in parentheses following the descriptions refer to the pages of the text upon which the record is mentioned.

I.

Feb., 1222-23.—*Robert le Chaucier witness to a sale of land in France.* (7)

[*Recueil de Fac-similés à L'Usage de L'École des Chartes*, ed. A. Picard, Paris, 1881-83. Translation in deuxième fascicule, p. 11; plate no. 49 in troisième fascicule.]

No. 49.

1222-1223, février.

Vente de trois arpents de terre sis a l'Hay, par Guillaume de Poissy a Ansel Challes le lormier.

“Ce sachent cil *qui* cez letres vesront *que* je, seignor Guillaume de Poisi, ai vendu a Ansel Challes le loremier iij arpenz de terre *qui* seent a Lay * * * Temoign: * * * Robert le chaucier, Laurent le cordonnier, * * * ”.

2.

Examples of the occurrence of the Old French "chaucier".
(8)

[Godefroy.]

CHAUCERIE: s. f., métier de chaussetier:

"Tous les marchans chauciers et ouvriers du mestier de chaucerie". (1346, Arch. JJ 77, f. 16 r.)

CHAUCEOR: *chausour*, s. m., chaussetier:

"Meis sires li evesques si ait son maistre chausour en ceste ville que chausier le doit". (*Drois de Mgr. de Mes*, ms. Metz 46, f. 103^a.)

CHAUÇONS: s. m., chaussure de dessous, etc.:

"Quiconques est chauciers a Paris il puet fere chauces de soie et de toile, souz chaux et chauçons". (Est. Boileau, *Liv. des Mest.*, 1^{re} p., LV, 4.) *Sup.*

3.

[Sainte-Palaye.]

CHAUCERIE:

"Marchans et vendeurs de tout ce qui puet appartenir au mestier de chaucerie, soient chauciers", etc. N. E.

For another instance of the use of the word, which is mentioned but not quoted in the *Dictionary*, cf. *Métiers de Paris*, MSS. de Meinière, p. 20.

4.

July 16, 1273.—*John le Chaucer of Warwick imprisoned on the charge of having been able to arrest certain felons had he wished to do so.* (18)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1 Edw. I., m. 6.]

"To the sheriff of Warwick. Order to deliver Thomas fiz le Provost, Robert le Jeven, Simon de la Grein, John de Blake-well, William le Jeven, Simon le Burgeys, William le Caretter, John le Clerc, Henry atte Burn, John le Chaucer, and Thomas de Makeresgate from prison without delay, as John, son of Adam de Burmenton, was lately killed by certain felons at

Burmenton, and the sheriff has imprisoned the aforesaid men at Warwick, charging them with having been able to arrest and take the said felons if they had wished, upon each of them finding twelve lawful men of that county who shall mainpern to have been [*sic*] before the justices at the first assize when they come to those parts to stand to right on that charge if any one shall wish to speak against them, as the cognizance of this matter pertains rather to the justices than to that of the sheriff. Dated at Westminster, July 16, 1273". [Ryley, *Placita*, p. 432.]

5.

May, 1302.—*John le Chaucer sues John de Guildeford for 1000 l. damages.* (23)

[*Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, f. 61 r^o., p. 249.]

"Memorandum ke Jon Botetourte e Willame Jige Juttises ou Jon le Blount, Meyre de Londres, e ses jhens wiendrent ser en la Gihale de Loundres le Mardy preseyn awaunt le Seyn Donetan a oyr e determer un treppas entre Jon le Janser, Elis Rossel, e Jon de Geudeford e autres par le pourjas l'awauntdit Jon le Janser encontre la franchise de la cité, ke allege fut des Audermans; e lendemeyn le awaunt Justices en la awantdite sale ajournerent les parties le Samedi preseyn a la Sale de plom. Le que jour alege furent lour ser e keu ne alowerent, mes mitrent l'avantdit Ellis e Jon e plusours acopes a non defendus a damesse l'avvantdit Jon le Janser de Mille livres per se ce l'awauntdit Elis e les autres ne se woleynt aquiter for ke par lour ley en cheuse par la fransise en heyre dehors; e l'awandit Jon le Janser mourut en l'awandit quiseyne apres par mesaunse en son outel demeyne".

6.

Jan. 26, 1310.—*Agnes de Guildeford receives a messuage in London in which she and her husband once dwelt.* (24)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 3 Edw. II., m. 13.]

"To Walter de Gloucester, escheator this side Trent. Order to deliver to Agnes, late the wife of John de Gildeford, a

message in the city of London wherein she dwelt with her husband, which she claims as her free-bench according to the custom of the city, it having come into the king's hands on the death of the said John, a tenant in chief, together with his other lands because he was a bastard and died without an heir, if he find that she ought to have the same as her free-bench according to the custom of that city.

Dated at Westminster, Jan. 26. 1310".

7.

July, 1353.—*Nicholas Chaucer and Juliana, his wife, are granted a Papal indult.* (30)

[*Cal. Papal Registers, Letters*, III, 495.]

Quoted practically entire in the text.

8.

Dec. 15, 1330.—*The king orders the justices to see whether Geoffrey Stace has paid John Chaucer the damages assessed.* (54)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 4 Edw. III., m. 10.]

"To Geoffrey le Scrop and his fellows, justices to hold pleas before the king. The king—at the petition of Geoffrey Stace and Agnes his wife, before him and his council in parliament, suggesting that Geoffrey and Agnes, who was then the wife of Walter de Westhall, and certain others were lately convicted at the suit of Richard le Chaucer and Mary his wife in the king's court before him for ravishing John son and heir of Robert le Chaucer, whose wardship pertained to Richard and Mary because Robert held his land in socage and Mary was the next [friend] of the heir, the said John being a minor in the wardship of Richard and Mary in London, and that 250 *l.* were adjudged to Richard and Mary for their damages in this behalf, and Geoffrey has satisfied the said heir, who is now of full age, for that sum, and has letters of acquittance thereof from the heir, and that Geoffrey and Agnes are still detained in the prison of the Marshalsea before the king by reason of the

damages aforesaid, and praying the king to cause them to be released, taking from them a reasonable fine for what pertains to him in this behalf—because it is contained in the statute recently issued at Marlebergg that the keepers of land held in socage ought to render account to the heirs of the lands when they come of age for the issues of the lands,—considering that Richard and Mary are bound, by virtue of the statute aforesaid, to answer for the heir for the said 250 l. thus recovered, and that they ought to be discharged thereof against the said heir if he have been satisfied for that sum by the aforesaid Geoffrey, and not wishing to keep Geoffrey and Agnes in prison any longer for this reason, orders the justices to call before them the said heir, and to see the acquittance aforesaid, and if they ascertain by his acknowledgment or otherwise that the acquittance is his deed, or that he have been satisfied otherwise for the aforesaid by Geoffrey, they are then to call before them Richard and Mary, and to hear their reasons, and if they cannot shew cause why Geoffrey and Agnes ought not to be delivered from prison, they are to cause Geoffrey and Agnes to be released, taking from them a reasonable fine for what pertains to the king in this behalf. By pet. of C.

Dated at Westminster, Dec. 15, 1330”.

9.

Dec. 16, 1330.—*The king orders Geoffrey and Agnes Stace to be released from prison.* (54)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 4 Edw. III., m. 11.]

“To Geoffrey le Scrop, chief justice. Whereas the king—[here follows a recital of the preceding record word for word] the king now orders them to cause Geoffrey and Agnes to be released from prison, upon their finding mainpernors to have them before the said justices to prosecute the said matter and to answer to the king for what pertains to him and to answer to Richard and Mary for their damages if they be adjudged to them by the justices. By pet. of C.

Dated at Westminster, Dec. 16, 1330”.

10.

——— Robert de Dennington (*Malyn*) purchases land
in Ipswich. (60)

[*Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, A 3641; Redstone, *op. cit.*, 189.]

“Grant by Margery, relict of Walter de Leystone, to Robert de Dinhivetune [*sic*], for 3 marcs, of a piece of land with buildings called her “*gernarius*” [garner?] in St. Peter’s parish, Ipswich, paying the prior and convent of St. Peter’s 5 *d.* yearly. Witnesses:—Silvester son of Walk[elin], and Matthew de Porta, bailiffs, and others (named)”.

11.

Nov. 22, 1342.—*Reymund Seguyn and Richard Chaucer ordered to dearrest John Cotte of Dertemuth and his ship.*
(73)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 21 d.]

“To Reymund Seguyn, the king’s butler, or to Richard Chaucer supplying his place in the port of London, and to John de Wynwyk, the king’s serjeant at arms, appointed to arrest all lords, masters, and mariners of ships which were arrested for the king’s passage and did not come, in that port, together with the ships and wine and all other things therein. Order to dearrest without delay John Cotte of Dertemuth, his ship and the mariners thereof with the freight, and to permit John to cross where he will with the ship without finding any security, because William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, testified before him that John, whom he found there, had served the earl with his ship, the king ordered all sheriffs, bailiffs, ministers and other lieges, to do no harm or arrest to John for the cause aforesaid, and now he has besought the king to order his ship and the freight to be dearrested, as he touched at the port of London with the wines of divers merchants laded in his ship, after his departure from Brittany, and he has been arrested by Reymund and John together with the ship and its freight, as the king has learned. By C.

Dated at Kennington, Nov. 22, 1342”.

12.

Nov. 24, 1342.—*The same for John Boys of Dertemuth and his ship.* (73)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 21 d.]

“To Reymund Seguyn, the king’s butler, or to his deputy in the port of Southampton and to Hugh de Notyngham. Order to dearrest without delay a ship called ‘*la Sauvey*’ of Bristol with the tackle and the goods and chattels therein, and the masters and mariners thereof, delivering the ship, goods and chattels to John Andrewe, master of the ship, as although the king appointed them to arrest the ships which withdrew from the king’s passage, with the masters and mariners thereof, yet Oliver de Ingham, seneschal of Gascony, has testified by his letters that John took him from Brittany to Bordeaux in his last passage thither, for the safe custody of the treasure then in Oliver’s custody.

By C.

“The like to Reymund or to his deputy in the port of London for John Boys, master of a ship called ‘*la cogg Thomas*’ of Dertemuth.

Dated at Kennington, Nov. 24, 1342”.

13.

Nov. 28, 1342.—*The same for Walter Gent and Wm. de Asshelden and their ships.* (73)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 8 d.]

“To Reymund Seguyn, the king’s butler, or to Richard Chaucer, supplying his place in the port of London, and to John de Wynwyk, the king’s serjeant at arms. Order to dearrest without delay a ship called ‘*la Seinte Marie Cogge*’ of Dertemuth with the tackle thereof and the goods and chattels of Walter Gent, the master, therein, and the master and mariners thereof and the freight of the ship, and to deliver the ship, goods and chattels to Walter, as the king appointed them to arrest all ships arrested for his passage and which withdrew therefrom, with the masters and mariners thereof, but

Oliver de Ingham, seneschal of Gascony, has certified in chancery that Walter gave him safe conduct from Brittany to Bordeaux in his last passage. By C.

"The like to the same for William de Asshelden, master of the ship called '*la Seinte Marie Cogg*' of Dertemuth. By C.

Dated at Kennington, Nov. 28, 1342".

14.

Dec. 18, 1342.—*A general order to dearrest certain wines.*
(73)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 3 d.]

"To Reymund Seguyn, the king's butler, or to him who supplies his place in the port of London. Order to dearrest all wines which he finds have been arrested by him in ships laded in Gascony, by merchants and others, who are not lords, masters or mariners of the ships, and if they find mainpernors, to permit them and the mainpernors to be quit of the mainprise provided that the wine of the lords, masters and mariners of ships be not dearrested without the king's special order, in accordance with the agreement made by the council at Westminster on the morrow of St. Lucy last.

Dated at Kennington, Dec. 18, 1342".

15.

Dec. 5, 1342.—*Reymund Seguyn and Richard Chaucer ordered to dearrest the ship of Richard Frend.* (73)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 20 d.]

"To Reymund Seguyn, the king's butler, or to Richard Chaucer, supplying his place in the port of London, and to John de Wynnewyk, his serjeant at arms. Order to dearrest without delay a ship called '*Swetebowe*' of London with the tackle and the goods and chattels of Richard Frend, the master, therein, the freight thereof in the hands of the merchants and the master and the mariners, and to deliver the ship, goods and chattels and freight to Richard, as Richard is charged by Wil-

liam de Bohun, earl of Northampton, to make provision of wine in Gascony for the earl's stay in Brittany and elsewhere, as fully appears by the earl's letters patent exhibited in chancery.

Dated at Kennington, Dec. 5, 1342".

16.

Dec. 6, 1342.—*The same for the ship of Richard Wowere.*
(73)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 20 d.]

"To the same [Seguyn, Chaucer and Wynnewyk]. Like order to dearrest a ship called '*la Margerie*' of London, whereof Richard Wowere is master, with the tackle and Richard's goods and chattels therein.

By C.

Dated at Kennington, Dec. 6, 1342".

17.

Dec. 18, 1342.—*The same for the ships of Alexander Fairewedre and Richard May.* (74)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 3 d.]

"To Reymund Seguyn, the king's butler, or to him who supplies his place in the port of London. Order to dearrest without delay a ship called '*la Gracedieu*' of Tyngemouth, whereof Alexander Fairewedre is master, and another called '*la cog Johan*' of Hampton, whereof Richard May is master, and deliver them to the masters with the freight for victuals for their maintenance, in going and returning, taking their oath that when the victuals are unladed, they will bring back the ships to the port of Portesmouth before the 1 March next, ready for the passage of certain lieges, who are about to set out thence to the parts of Brittany, as those ships, which Reymund has arrested, have been freighted by William de Cusancia, the treasurer, to take victuals from the said port to Brittany for the maintenance of the king and his lieges there.

By C.

Dated at Westminster, Dec. 18, 1342".

18.

Dec. 20, 1342.—*The same for the ship of Arnold Osten.*
(74)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 7.]

“To Reymund Seguyn, the king’s butler, or to Thomas de Melchebourn, supplying his place in the port of Lenne. Order to dearrest and deliver to Elias de Hull all his wines which they shall find to have been arrested in a ship called ‘*la Margarete*’ of Swynhumbre, in the parts of Gascony, and brought to that port, if Elias was not lord, master or mariner of that ship and did not know of its delay, and if he has found a mainprise to discharge him and his mainpernors, as it was agreed by the prelates, magnates and others of the council held at Westminster on the morrow of St. Lucy last, that all wine—in ships arrested for the king’s last passage, and taken to Gascony, the arrest being broken for seeking wine there, by merchants and others who were not lords, masters and mariners of the ships, laden in Gascony and brought to England and arrested there by virtue of the king’s order, because they did not come to the said passage, which the king afterwards ordered to be dearrested by a mainprise to answer for the wine if it ought to pertain to the king—should be dearrested and delivered to the merchants to do their pleasure therewith.

By the keeper and C.

Dated at Kennington, Dec. 16, 1342”.

“The like to the same Reymond and those who supply his place in the following ports for wine laded in the following ships, to wit:

To Reymond or Richard Chaucer, supplying his place in the port of London, for the wine of Arnold Osten of Bordeaux, merchant, in a ship called ‘*la Swetebowe*’ of London.

By the keeper and C.

Dated at Kennington, Dec. 20, 1342”.

19.

Nov. 20, 1342.—*Reymund Segwyn cannot guard the ships which he has arrested.* (74)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 11.]

"To the sheriffs of London. Order to receive the ships and wine and the persons of the masters and mariners arrested by Reymund Segwyn, the king's butler, from him, and cause them to be safely kept until further order, as the king lately appointed Reymund to arrest and keep safely all ships arrested for the king's passage to parts beyond the sea and which did not come to that passage, with the persons of the masters and mariners of the same and the wine and other goods and chattels found therein in the port of London and other ports and places of the realm, and Reymund arrested certain ships laden with wine in the port of London, together with the wine and the masters and mariners therein, and he does not suffice to guard the said ships, wine and men, as he says.

By the keeper and C.

Dated at Kennington, Nov. 20, 1342".

20.

Nov. 2, 1341.—*Order to deliver a tun of wine to Isabella de Helde.* (74)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 15 Edw. III., pt. III, m. 19.]

"To Reymund Segwyn, the king's butler, or to him who supplies his place in the port of London. Order to deliver to Isabella de Helde a tun of wine for the present year, in accordance with the king's grant to her on 30 June in the 12th year of the reign of a tun of wine to be received yearly for life in that port by the hands of the butler or of him who supplies his place there, of the king's gift.

Dated at Westminster, Nov. 2, 1341".

21.

Nov. 8, 1341.—*Order to deliver two tuns of wine to Wm. de Stokton.* (75)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 15 Edw. III., pt. III, m. 13.]

"To Reymund Segwyn, the king's butler, or to him who

supplies his place. Order to deliver to William de Stokton, vicar of St. Paul's church, London, what is in arrear to him of 2 tuns of wine yearly and to deliver those tuns to William yearly henceforth so long as Reymund is butler, in accordance with the king's grant to William on 6 March last of two tuns of wine to be received yearly in the port of London by the hands of the chief butler, for life.

Dated at Stamford, Nov. 8, 1341 ”.

22.

Nov. 20, 1342.—*Order to deliver a tun of wine to Wm. de Stokton.* (75)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 15.]

“To Reymund Seguyn, the king's butler, or to him who supplies his place, in the port of London. Order to deliver to William de Stokton, vicar of St. Paul's church, London, a tun of wine of the vintage of the present season, in accordance with the king's grant to him on 6 March in the 14th year of the reign of two tuns of wine yearly, two of the wines of ‘reek’ for that year and two tuns yearly thence forth, one of the vintage between Michaelmas and Christmas and the other of the wines of ‘reek’ between Christmas and Easter, to be received in the port of London, for life, by the hands of the chief butler.

Dated at Kennington, Nov. 20, 1342 ”.

23.

Feb. 9, 1346.—*Walter de Chiriton acknowledges that he owes Richard Chaucer 420 l.* (76)

[*Close Roll*, 20 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 26 d.]

“Walterus de Chiriton', mercator et
Pro Ricardo Chaucier civis Londonie, recognoscit se debere
de London'. Ricardo Chaucier, civi et vinetario
Londonie, quadringentas et viginti
libras unde solvet ei, die lune [Mar. 6, 1346] in prima septi-
mana quadragesime proximo future, ducentas et viginti libras,
et in Octabis [April 16-23, 1346] Pasche proximo sequentis

ducentas libras. Et nisi fecerit, concedit quod predicta pecunia levetur de terris et catallis suis in civitate Londonie et alibi. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium ix. die Februarii.

"Solvit, et quietus est, sicut idem Ricardus recognoscit".

24.

Mar. 3, 1346.—*Walter de Chiriton acknowledges that he owes Richard Chaucer 80 l. (76)*

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 20 d.]

"Walter de Chiriton, merchant, acknowledges that he owes to Richard Chaucier 80 l.; to be levied, etc. in the city of London.

Cancelled on payment.

Dated at Westminster, Mar. 3, 1346".

25.

Jan. 24, 1340.—*John de Upton pardoned for the death of Simon Chaucer. (80)*

[*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 13 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 1.]

"Pardon to John de Upton, for the death of Simon Chaucer, as it appears by the record of William Scot and his fellows, justices appointed to deliver Neugate gaol, that he killed him in self defence.

Dated at Kennington, Jan. 24, 1340".

26.

Feb. 12, 1347.—*John Chaucer appointed deputy to the king's butler in the ports of Southampton, Cicestre, Seford, Shorham, and Portsmouth for customs on wines. (84)*

[*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 29.]

"Writ *de intendendo* for John de Stodeye, whom the king's serjeant, John de Wesenham, chief butler, has deputed during his pleasure to discharge the duties of the office in the port of London.

By bill of the butler himself.

Dated at Reading, Feb. 12, 1347.

"In like manner the following are appointed his deputies in the ports named, by the same bill:—

John Loveryk	Sandwich.
John Chausere	Southampton.
* * *	* * *
John Chaucier	Cicestre, Seford, Shorham,
	and Portsmouth.
* * *	* * *

"Writ of aid for these same deputies in collecting the 2 s. on each tun, and 12 d. on each pipe, due to the king on wine imported by merchant strangers, in the ports above named.

By bill of the butler.

Dated at Reading, Feb. 12, 1347".

27.

April 28, 1347.—*John Chaucer is appointed deputy to the king's butler for the collection of the customs on woolen goods in the above named ports.* (85)

[*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 15.]

"Writ of aid for John de Stodeye, whom the king's serjeant, John de Wesenham, his butler, assigned by him to collect and receive in all ports of England the following customs on woolen cloths made in England for export, to wit 14 d. from denizens and 21 d. from aliens for every cloth of assize, 2 s. 4 d. from denizens and 3 s. 6 d. from aliens for every cloth of scarlet and other cloth of entire grain, and a moiety of such custom for every other cloth of half grain, or wherein part of grain is mixed, and also proportional customs after this rate for every other cloth beyond or within the assize; as well as on cloths of worsted exported, to wit from denizens 1 d. and from aliens 1½ d. for one entire cloth, from denizens 5 d. and from aliens 7½ d. for a single bed and from denizens 9 d. and from aliens

13½ *d.* for a double bed, has deputed under him in the port of London during his pleasure.

By the bill of the butler himself.

“In like manner, the following are deputed by the said butler in the ports named:—

John Chaucier	Cicestre, Seford, Shorham,
	Portsmouth and Southampton.

* * *

* * *

Dated at Reading, April 28, 1347 ”.

28.

Feb. 13, 1347.—*Order to John Chaucer to deliver a tun of wine to the abbot of Waverle.* (86)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 30.]

“To John de Wesenham, the king’s butler, or to him who supplies his place in the port of Southampton. Order to deliver to the abbot of Waverle a tun of red wine of the present season of ‘reek’, in accordance with the king’s grant to the abbot and convent of that place of a tun of such wine to be received yearly in that port for the celebration of masses in their monastery for the souls of all the faithful departed.

Dated at Eltham, Feb. 13, 1347 ”.

29.

Jan. 26, 1348.—*Same as above.* (86)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 35.]

“To John de Wesenham, the king’s butler, or to him who supplies his place in the port of Southampton. Order to deliver to the abbot of the monastery of Waverle, of the Cistercian order, a tun of red wine of the present season of ‘reek’ in that port, for the celebration of masses in the said monastery, in accordance with the king’s grant to the abbot and convent there of a tun of such wine to be received yearly in that port for the celebration of masses for the souls of all the faithful departed.

Dated at Westminster, Jan. 26, 1348 ”.

30.

March 4, 1347.—*Order to John Chaucer to deliver a tun of wine to the abbot of St. Edward Lettele.* (86)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 28.]

“To John de Wesenham, late the king’s butler, or to him who supplies his place in the town of Southampton. Order to deliver to the abbot and convent of St. Edward, Lettele, a tun of wine of the present year of the king’s right prise, in accordance with the grant to them by Henry III. of a tun of such wine to be received yearly at Southampton between Christmas and the Purification, to celebrate masses in their church.

Dated at Reading, March 4, 1347”.

31.

Feb. 4, 1348.—*Same as the above.* (86)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 39.]

“To John de Wesenham, the king’s butler, or to him who supplies his place in the town of Southampton. Order to deliver to the abbot and convent of St. Edward Lettele, a tun of wine for the present year, of the king’s right prise, for celebrating masses in that church, in accordance with the grant of Henry III. to them of a tun of such wine to be received yearly at Southampton.

Dated at Westminster, Feb. 4, 1348”.

32.

Feb. 20, 1347.—*Order to John Chaucer to deliver a tun of wine to the prior of St. Denys.* (86)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 30.]

“To the same in the same port. Order to deliver to the prior of St. Denys near Southampton, which priory is of the foundation of the kings of England, a tun of red wine of the first wine of the king’s prise in that port of the present season of ‘reek’, in accordance with the king’s grant to the prior and

convent of a tun of such wine to be received yearly for the celebration of masses in the priory for the souls of all the faithful departed.

Dated at Eltham, Feb. 20, 1347 ”.

33.

April 9, 1347.—*Order to John Chaucer to deliver a tun of wine to the abbot of King's Beaulieu.* (87)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 19.]

“To John de Wesenham, the king's butler, or to him who supplies his place in the town of Southampton. Order to deliver to the abbot and convent of King's Beaulieu a tun of wine of the right prise of the present year, in accordance with the grant of Henry III. to them of a tun of such wine to be received yearly at Southampton between Christmas and the Purification, for celebrating masses in their church.

Dated at Reading, April 9, 1347 ”.

34.

Jan. 28, 1348.—*Same as the above.* (87)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., pt. I, m. 38.]

For text see the preceding record.

“Dated at Westminster, Jan. 28, 1348 ”.

35.

Sept. 4, 1348.—*Order to John Chaucer to allow certain burgesses of Southampton to lade their cloth.* (87)

[*Cal. Close Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 19.]

“To the collectors [of the custom] of woolen cloth in the port of Southampton. Order to permit Thomas de la Marche of Southampton, Richard de Wylyngton, William de la Marche, Richard le Barbour, Henry Flemmyng, John Dodir, John Tailour, Alan de Guldeford and John Thurleston, burgesses of Southampton, to lade their cloth bought by them before Michaelmas next in the said port, and take it thence to the parts of Gascony after paying the customs due thereon in ac-

cordance with the king's grant to them, notwithstanding the king's ordinance that the staple of such cloth should be held at Caleys.

By K. and C.

Dated at Westminster, Sept. 14, 1348".

36.

Sept. 3, 1348.—"*The like to the same collectors for Thomas atte Grene of London*". (87)

37.

July 20, 1347.—*John Chaucer appointed to arrest certain persons*. (88)

[*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., pt. II, m. 10 d.]

"Appointment of Walter Turk, Thomas Leggy, Peter Faue-
lour, William Dersham, Thomas de Gysors, William de Iford,
William de Depham, John Little, John de Stodeye, Richard de
Salteby, John Chaucer and Gracian Palmer to arrest all per-
sons prosecuting appeals in derogation of the judgement of the
court of Common Bench, whereby the king recovered his pre-
sentation to the prebend of Sutton, in the church of St. Mary,
Lincoln, against Baldrac de Malebayle, 'Lumbard', and his
collation of the same to Thomas de Brembre, king's clerk; and
to bring them at once before the council with all appeals, bulls,
or other things prejudicial to the king's rights herein found
with them.

Dated at Reading, July 20, 1347".

38.

1341-1367.—*John de Northwell mentioned as son of Agnes
Chaucer of London*. (94)

[*Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, IV, 353.]

"A. 8733. Indenture, being a feoffment by William de
Northwell, clerk, to his dear mother and lady, Agnes de North-
well and John de Northwell, son of Agnes Chaucer of Lon-
don, and the heirs of the body of the said John begotten, of all
his lands and tenements, &c., free tenants and bond and their

issue, lands and chattels, in Northcarleton and Sutton on Trent, co. Nottingham, and Luyton, Lymbury and Biscote, co. Bedford, with reversion in default of John's issue to his own heirs. Witnesses:—Sir Philip de Lymbury, Hugh de Crumbewell of Carleton, and others named. *Seal of arms*".

The following two records have been omitted from the *Life Records*, and hence they have been included in the Appendix, even though they do not refer to the ancestry of Chaucer. The omission is noted in *Life Records*, IV, 255, note 2.

39.

June 28, 1386.—*Geoffrey Chaucer appointed upon a commission of the peace.*

[*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 10 Ric. II., pt. I, m. 47 d.]

"Commission of the peace and of oyer and terminer to Simon de Burle, constable of Dover castle and warden of the Cinque Ports, John de Cobeham, Robert Tresilian, Robert Bealknap, David Hanemere, John de Clynton, John Devereux, Thomas Culpepur, Thomas Fogg, Walter Clopton, William Rykhill, John Frenygham, James de Pekham, William Topclyf, Thomas Brokhill William Brenchesley, and Geoffrey Chaucer in the county of Kent, pursuant to the statutes of Winchester, Northampton and Westminster.

Dated at Westminster, June 28, 1386".

40.

May 16, 1387.—*Geoffrey Chaucer appointed upon a commission to try a case of "raptus".*

[*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 10 Ric. II., pt. II, m. 2 d.]

"Appointment of William Rikhill, Geoffrey Chaucer, Robert atte Naker, and Richard Stoke to enquire who ravished and abducted Isabella daughter and heir of William atte Halle, a minor in the custody of Thomas Kershill at Chesilhurst, co. Kent, and did other evils there, and to certify in Chancery touching all the circumstances.

Dated at Westminster, May 16, 1387".

In the text mention has been made of several records which have not been printed in the *Life Records* and of which I have not been able to obtain copies for the Appendix. They have been grouped here for the sake of reference. For the Malyn records see Redstone, *op. cit.* Robert le Chaucer, pp. 64, 66, notes 14,¹ 25; Richard Chaucer, pp. 68, 75, notes 30, 55; John Chaucer, pp. 84, 88, 95-6, notes 8, 21, 44, 47.

I have also included a few minor corrections and additions to the *Life Records*, even though they do not bear a direct reference to that portion of the *Records* with which my dissertation is concerned.

Record No. 80, *L. R.*, IV, p. 190, is referred to in the *Liber Albus* (ed. Riley), p. 553. Edmund Staplegate's petition to act as Butler at the coronation of Richard II. (*L. R.*, IV, 207) is printed in the *Liber Custumarum* (ed. Riley), p. 466; the two versions are alike save for a few minor differences in spelling, etc. *L. R.*, IV, p. 275, No. 209, has "m. 30"; the *Cal. Pat. Rolls* has "m. 31". *L. R.*, IV, p. 281, No. 215, has "Oct. 12"; the *Cal. Pat. Rolls* has "Oct. 8". *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 17 Ric. II., p. 373, wrongly has "pt. III" instead of "pt. II" (cf. *L. R.*, IV, p. 316, No. 250). Record No. 68 (*L. R.*, IV, 181) occurs in two places in Rymer's *Foedera* (cf. Record edition, vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 964, 966); the two versions are practically identical; *L. R.* refers to the latter version only.

¹ As the book is going to press, a letter from Mr. Kirk kindly informs me that this reference to Robert appears to be incorrect, and also gives me the complete reference to the *Close Rolls* in note 8, page 84.

LIFE.

I was born in Salem, Virginia, in 1879, and entered Randolph-Macon College in 1894, graduating with the degree of A. B. in 1898, and A. M. in 1899. The following year was spent as a Teaching Fellow in Vanderbilt University, and the years from 1900 to 1904 were spent at the Johns Hopkins University, where I elected English as my major subject, with French and German as minors. During my University course I held a Hopkins Scholarship from Virginia for two years, the Fellowship in English for one year, and a Fellowship by Courtesy for two years. In the summer of 1904 I was elected Assistant in English at Vanderbilt University, but resigned before the opening of the session to accept the chair of English at Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi.

